

THE
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ART. I.—THE JUSTICE OF THE
TRANSVAAL WAR.

I.—RACIAL ANTAGONISM.

THE causes of the war lie far back in the history and traditions of the rival nations in South Africa. They must be looked for in the opposite ideals of government entertained by them, and in the different planes of civilisation on which they stand. In the case of the Boers, progress was arrested by circumstances at a comparatively early stage, while in that of the English it has been continuous. The first European settlers landed on the slopes of Table Mountain by the Dutch East India Company in the middle of the seventeenth century, under the title of "free burghers," were subjected to restrictions which made the epithet a misnomer. Deliberately kept in ignorance by the prohibition of the use of a printing-press in the colony, they had no literature save the Bible and the Psalms, while their language, dropping all the inflections of the mother tongue, became that barbarous jargon the Taal, a sort of "Pidgin-Dutch," incapable of expressing any but the most ordinary ideas.

[No. 35 of *Fourth Series*.]

The introduction of fresh blood with the immigration of the French Huguenots in 1688-90, might have had a stimulating effect had it not been neutralised by the regulations they were subjected to. Forbidden to form separate communities and after a time to use their own language in official communications, or to practise their own form of worship, they were absorbed by the Dutch and became save by their names indistinguishable from them.

The nomad tendency of the settlers was fostered by the system of "loan leases" under which the Company granted only temporary occupation of land for grazing or farming, but no permanent tenure. Hence the Boer habit of "trekking," which has been such a factor in South African history, became an ineradicable tendency. Contact with inferior races, at first Hottentots and later Kafirs, and the cruelties and reprisals of savage warfare, tended still further to estrange the settlers from all higher ideals of society.

When England finally took over the Cape Colony in 1814, as part of the settlement at the close of the Napoleonic era, the ideas of the nineteenth century were in the air, and her administrators, in trying to translate them into practice, soon came into collision with the Boers on the crucial question of the civil rights of natives.

FIRST CONFLICT.

A man named Bezuidenhout, summoned to appear before the district court for forcibly detaining in his service a free Hottentot, was shot in resisting the party sent to effect his arrest. The event has permanently embittered Anglo-Dutch relations, for it led to what is known as the Slaughter's Nek rebellion, in which fifty or sixty farmers rose in rebellion, and incited the Kafirs by the promise of land to do likewise. The execution of five of the ringleaders on March 9th, 1816, is still remembered by the Boers as one of their most cruel wrongs at the hands of the British, and the incident illustrates the incompatibility of the social views of the two races. It is doubly noteworthy, both as the first clash between English and Boer ideals, and as striking the keynote of future dissonance between them. "What

divided (and still divides) the English and Dutch in South Africa (writes Mr. Basil Worsfold, in his admirable little monograph*) is the question of the treatment of the native races."

THE GREAT TREK.

This question was raised in a more acute form by the Emancipation Act of 1833, abolishing slavery throughout the Empire. On the side of the Boers, it must be acknowledged that the amount of compensation paid to them, £1,200,000, for property estimated at £3,000,000, was miserably inadequate, and that the effect was most disastrous to the frontier farmers dependent on slavery for their labour, as the natives would not work for payment. Hence their resolve to escape into the wilderness by the movement of migration known as the "Great Trek." The way was opened for them by the devastating wars of the Zulu chiefs, Tshaka and Moselikatze, the first of whom is estimated to have caused the death of a million of human beings, thus almost clearing the interior of native inhabitants. Between the years 1836-38, 10,000 people are estimated to have migrated northwards, shaking the dust of British civilisation off their feet.

They were however, officially warned that they could not divest themselves of the status of British subjects by moving into territory already within the recognised sphere of British influence and *de jure* sovereignty, as is officially stated in many documents. Of these it is sufficient to quote the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act of 1836, by which offences committed by British subjects in any part of South Africa, south of latitude 25°, were made cognisable in the colonial courts, and the Governor was authorised to appoint magistrates throughout the area. The Boer attempt to set up an independent sovereignty in Natal was frustrated by British troops, and in 1843 it was declared a British colony. In fixing its boundaries it was explicitly declared that Her Majesty did not thereby renounce "her rightful and sovereign authority over any

* "The Story of South Africa," by W. Basil Worsfold (Story of the Empire Series). Horace Marshall & Son.

of her subjects residing or being beyond the limits of that district."

In the Orange Free State, again, the assertion of Dutch independence led to an armed collision with the British forces at Boomplatz, and in 1848 that region was formally annexed to the dominions of the British Crown. The more recalcitrant Boers then made a further trek across the Vaal, under the leadership of Pretorius, though again fully warned that that territory too lay within the British sphere.

THE ISHMAELS OF THE VELDT.

A series of sanguinary conflicts with the !Zulus in the course of these migrations tended to embitter and harden the Boers in their relations with the natives, and have had a considerable effect in forming their national character. By a process of elimination the more truculent and irreconcilable had retreated across the Vaal, leaving in the Orange Free State and Northern Natal those less fiercely inimical to British rule.

England, meantime, wearied by a series of costly Kafir wars, desired to minimise her responsibilities in South Africa, and Pretorius, by the threat of rebellion, succeeded in extorting the recognition of Transvaal independence in the Sand River Convention signed in 1852. By the Convention of Bloemfontein two years later, a further extension was given to this policy of abnegation, and independence was forced on the Orange River Sovereignty, then created the Orange Free State, sorely against the will of the majority of its inhabitants. By this step, termed by Sir George Grey "the dismemberment of South Africa," Great Britain, in the hope of erecting a barrier of buffer States between her territories and the natives of the interior, sowed the dragon's teeth of an abundant harvest of disaster.

Nor did the experiment prove a successful one in the case of the Transvaal itself. The emancipated burghers fought among themselves, and fought with their neighbours of the Free State. Rival factions formed four separate republics, whence is derived the "Vierkleur," or four coloured Transvaal flag, and anarchy prevailed for eight years. It was not until 1864 that the South

African Republic was established, with Pretorius as President and Paul Kruger as Commandant-General.

A BANKRUPT STATE.

Further troubles ensued. Fighting with the native tribes was almost continuous and culminated in a formidable war with Sikukuni on the north-west. The strain broke down the resources of the Republic; the burghers absolutely refused to serve with the commandos and equally refused to pay the taxes necessary to fill their places with paid soldiers. The treasury was empty, the pound-note having fallen in value to a shilling, and the country was morally and pecuniarily bankrupt. Threatened on the north by the Matabele and on the south-east by Ketshwayo's unbroken impis, annihilation was impending over it, if not saved by a stronger Power. Under the English flag alone was safety to be found, and people and rulers acquiesced in annexation as the only alternative to being swept with fire and sword by the impending flood of barbarism on the frontiers. It was effected peaceably by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and the Transvaal was in 1877 incorporated once again in the Queen's dominions. Many now think that the act was premature, and that its delay would have served to make its necessity more evident.

THE BOERS "WAX FAT AND KICK."

It was followed by a return of prosperity. The national credit was restored, the finances recovered, Sikukuni was overthrown, and Ketshwayo, after a sanguinary campaign which cost England six millions sterling, was finally crushed at Ulundi in 1879. No sooner were the Boers thus rescued by English arms from impending destruction than they began to chafe under the subjection that was no longer necessary to ensure safety. They had, too, just cause of discontent in the delay of the authorities in establishing the local self-government stipulated for. Smouldering discontent culminated in the refusal to pay taxes, the Transvaal flag was hoisted on December 16th, 1880, and the advance of British troops cut off by the seizure of the passes in the Drakensberg.

Sir George Colley, Governor of Natal, in marching with a small force to the relief of the beleaguered garrisons, was defeated in three engagements, and fell himself on Majuba Hill, February 27th, 1881. The disaster would have been easily retrieved, and Sir Evelyn Wood, with 10,000 troops under his command and as many more on the sea, was in a position to do it. He telegraphed that he "held the Boers in the hollow of his hand," and awaited orders to crush them. The reply was negative. The English Cabinet, scared by the threat of the burghers of the Free State to join their race-fellows, and by that bogey of British statesmanship, the possible rising of the Cape Dutch, bade him hold his hand and negotiate an armistice.

RETROCESSION.

The retrocession of the Transvaal under the Convention of Pretoria followed, and it was granted independence, limited by the suzerainty of the Queen and by certain illusory stipulations for the protection of the natives. The ink of the Convention was scarcely dry when the Boers began to violate its conditions. They invaded the protected native tribes on the west and established two new republics under the names of Stellaland and Goshen, necessitating the despatch from England of an expedition under Sir Charles Warren, at a cost of two millions sterling, to coerce them into submission. Equally regardless of the rights guaranteed to natives, they made a war with the chief Mapoch a pretext for distributing 8,000 of his people among the victorious commando as slaves under the name of apprentices. For the wrongs of these poor creatures no redress was attempted, and their spoilers were rewarded with fresh concessions. The restrictions of the Pretoria Convention were found irksome to Boer aspirations, and the complaisant English Cabinet agreed to modify it. Mr. Kruger and two other delegates came to London with a draft Convention in their pockets, in which they sought to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government on equal terms, and claimed unrestricted liberty in their foreign relations.

These pretensions were curtly set aside, and they were informed that complete independence would not be granted

them either in form or in substance. Even in regard to freedom of action in internal affairs, it was restricted in the new Convention signed on February 27th, 1884, by stipulations for the rights of aliens and of natives, including the abolition of slavery, "or apprenticeship partaking of slavery" (Art. viii. London Convention), for freedom of religion, and most favoured nation treatment of British goods. In foreign affairs their liberty was limited by a clause requiring all treaties to be submitted for Her Majesty's approval. The word suzerainty, on the other hand, was not used, unless the preamble to the superseded Convention be held still to subsist, a point on which lawyers are divided.

II.—THE TRANSVAAL UNDER THE CONVENTION.

The new Convention was no better observed than its predecessor. The signatories bound themselves by a special clause to observe the frontier strictly delimited by the first Article, yet the eastern border was rushed as the western had been, and the most fertile portions of Zululand were seized by Boer adventurers. The Imperial Government, with unpardonable weakness, condoned this breach of faith, and the new Republic thus illegally constituted was incorporated in the Transvaal. Swaziland was the next object of Boer cupidity; and here, too, despite a special clause in the Convention guaranteeing its independence, the aggressors ultimately prevailed, and the allies of England, in the teeth of their protests, were handed over to the hated rule of the Dutch. A way to the sea was sought through Tongaland, but here, after some tergiversation on the English side, the country was declared a British protectorate, and the same aegis was extended at a later date to the remaining strip of coast up to the Portuguese frontier, hemming in the South African Republic from the much coveted maritime outlet. There remained the vast territory to the north, and an organised trek on a great scale started for its occupation, but was turned back from the Limpopo by the announcement, supported by a body of Bechuanaland Police, that the crossing of the river would be regarded as an act of

war. The consolidation of the Chartered Company's rule in this quarter completed the ring fence round the Transvaal territory, "shutting it up in a kraal," in President Kruger's expressive phrase.

THE GOLD RUSH.

But in the meantime the republic of herdsmen and grazing farmers had been transformed by an amazing stroke of fortune into the possessor of a Fortunatus's purse, as the home of the greatest mining community in the world. By the discovery in 1886 of an inexhaustible gold quarry in the Witwatersrandt Reef on the crown of the high veldt, a population of miners and adventurers was attracted from all parts of the world, but mainly from British territories, who not only soon outnumbered the original inhabitants of the Transvaal, but were ill-suited in habits and ideas to be contented with the despotic rule of a handful of ignorant and illiterate farmers.

Wealth, moreover, opened new horizons to ambition, and Mr. Kruger, who saw his country rich beyond the dreams of avarice, desired to exploit to the utmost the industry of the new-comers as a means to the realisation of his schemes of national aggrandisement. But the presence of so vast a foreign element placed the Government in a dilemma. The full enfranchisement of the aliens would, owing to their numerical preponderance, have swamped the burgher vote, and made the new-comers masters of the destinies of the country. To deny them political rights entailed, on the other hand, a condition of armed watchfulness, as a precaution against rebellion on their part or enforcement of their claims from without. To keep so large and intelligent a body of men in a condition of inferiority while compelling them to bear all the burdens of the State, was obviously a course bristling with danger, yet it was that which Pretoria elected to pursue.

In one way only could the President have minimised these evils, by dealing liberally with the aliens in all administrative matters, and treating them as a benevolent despot. This he had not wisdom or generosity to do, perhaps because oppression engenders hatred of the

oppressed. Yet he was more especially bound to this course because he had, by a letter published in the London papers at the time of the signature of the Convention, invited Englishmen to settle in the country, promising them every protection and encouragement.

THE FRANCHISE QUESTION.

He had, moreover, given his personal pledge for the continuance of political rights to British subjects in a conference during the negotiations for the conclusion of the Convention of 1881. In reply to a question of Sir Hercules Robinson, President of the Conference, whether they had complete political freedom throughout the Transvaal, and were on a footing of equality with the burghers in that respect, he replied that they were on the same footing, and there was not the slightest difference in accordance with the Sand River Convention.

Sir Hercules Robinson: I presume you will not object to that continuing?

Mr. Kruger: No, there will be equal protection for everybody.

Sir Evelyn Wood: And equal privileges?

Mr. Kruger: We make no difference so far as burgher rights are concerned. There may, perhaps, be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country.

The English negotiators, with the fatuity which has characterised all British dealings with the Transvaal, neglected to have this engagement embodied in the instrument they were drawing up, and thus left a loophole of technical legality to subsequent limitations on the franchise, at that time obtained by aliens as a matter of course after two years' residence in the country.

But the influx of foreigners into Johannesburg in numbers sufficient to swamp the Dutch vote was met by successive restrictions on its acquisition. When President Kruger was remonstrated with on the rejection by the Volksraad in 1893 and the following year of petitions signed by 13,000 and 35,000 Outlanders respectively, he pointed out the Transvaal flag to his interlocutor and said: "You see that flag. If I grant the franchise I may as well pull it down."

A more sagacious view was taken by one of his com-

patriots, who said on the action of the Volksraad in passing further restrictive measures: "Now our country is gone. Nothing can settle this but fighting, and there can be but one end to the fight. Kruger and his Hollanders have taken our independence more surely than ever Shepstone did."

PRESIDENT LAW.

The present state of the franchise law renders its acquisition by the foreign immigrant practically impossible. The first step, eligibility for the Second Raad, is gained by two years' naturalisation at the end of two years' residence, a probation of four years in all. The remainder of the process is described as follows by Mr. Fitzpatrick, in "The Transvaal from Within":

After he shall have been qualified to sit in the Second Volksraad for ten years (one of the conditions for which is that he must be thirty years of age) he may obtain the full burgher rights or political privileges provided the majority of burghers in his Ward shall signify in writing their desire that he should obtain them, and provided the President and Executive shall see no objection to granting the same. It is thus clear that, assuming the Field-cornets records (in which he must be registered) to be honestly and properly compiled, and to be available for reference (which they are not), the immigrant, after fourteen years' probation, during which he shall have given up his own country and have been politically emasculated, and having attained the age of at least forty years, would have the privilege of obtaining burgher rights should he be willing and able to induce the majority of a hostile clique to petition on his behalf, and should he then escape the veto of the President and Executive.

There is, therefore, no automatic machinery which confers the right of voting after any length of residence, since there are three further hindrances to its acquisition. It may be refused under the plea of error or defacement, real or fictitious, of the Field-cornet's books, of a hostile vote in the Ward, and of the Presidential veto, any one of them sufficient to render the right illusory.

While the burghers were thus constituted a privileged class, they were practically exempt from taxation, of which nine-tenths were paid by the unrepresented alien population. A revenue of four millions sterling was levied on

their industry in imposts amounting to £16 per head per annum, to administer a country with less than a quarter of a million of inhabitants. Monopolies for the benefit of the ruling oligarchy ran up the prices of all the necessities of life to fabulous prices, and while vast sums were spent on the construction of forts to overawe the unarmed taxpayers, the elementary provisions of public safety were neglected. Thus, under the *régime* of "dear bread and cheap brandy," the natives were enabled to hold a weekly orgy unchecked by the authorities.

THE RAID.

The denial of all constitutional redress drove the citizens of Johannesburg to that abortive attempt at insurrection which resulted so disastrously for South Africa. The plan of those on the spot, which was to seize the ill-guarded arsenal at Pretoria, was thwarted by the premature adventure of Dr. Jameson, undertaken in the teeth of their message of postponement, and intended apparently to force their action. It threw the game entirely into the hands of President Kruger, who, previously intimidated by the attitude of the Johannesburgers, and by the refusal of his burghers to come out on commando, had been ready to grant reforms. The foreign invasion restored his waning popularity, and paralysed the English Government by placing it manifestly in the wrong.

It had, on the other hand, the effect of calling attention to the wrongs of the Outlanders, and of pledging England to obtain their redress, by the promise to that effect of Sir Hercules Robinson (the High Commissioner), on the faith of which they consented to lay down their arms. For the time, indeed, this promise, as well as those made by President Kruger in the course of the subsequent negotiations, remained a dead letter, and if the aliens had before been scourged with whips they were now scourged with scorpions.

INCREASED INJUSTICE.

The right of public meeting was suppressed, and the Press gagged by fresh legislation, while justice was

rendered subservient to the Executive by a law forbidding the judges to test the legality of alterations in the fundamental statute by mere resolution of the Volksraad, the creature of the President.

Trial by jury was rendered an instrument of oppression by the limitation of the panel to burghers, incapable, from their invincible prejudices, of giving a verdict in favour of a foreigner.

Among social grievances was that of the compulsion of English-speaking children to receive instruction in the State schools in the Dutch dialect, which rendered it perfectly useless for their careers in after life.

The industrial grievances of the Outlanders were fully affirmed by the report of the Industrial Commission appointed by the Volksraad to inquire into them in 1897. It condemned the tariff by which the price of necessaries was rendered exorbitant to those engaged in the mining industry—the financial basis, mainstay, and support of the State—and upheld the remonstrances of the capitalists as to the corrupt administration of the liquor laws with its disastrous results to the efficiency of native labour.

LEGAL CRIMES.

Cases of personal oppression and cruelty were too numerous for detail. Coloured British subjects were dragged from their beds and treated with the utmost brutality, on the plea that they were without passes. Others were arbitrarily arrested and fined without being heard in their own defence. A number of inoffensive British Indians were summarily ordered last year to leave their shops and dwellings and reside in a pestilential and undrained suburb. Certain white subjects of Her Majesty were arrested and thrown into prison on false evidence, as part of a bogus plot got up by the authorities themselves. In cases where the police were proved to have behaved with gross illegality, they were temporarily removed and then reinstated.

These legal crimes culminated in the murder of Mr. Edgar by the police, who broke into his house at night without a warrant, and then shot him, on the plea (denied

by his wife) that he had struck one of them with a stick. The murderer was not only acquitted by a jury, but eulogised by the judge, who expressed the hope that the Boer police would always do their duty.

The murder of Mrs. Applebe is also supposed to be a police crime, though in her case no one was made amenable. Her husband, a Wesleyan minister, had incurred obloquy by his efforts to expose the nefarious business of the liquor trade, and she was bludgeoned on the public highway, it is believed by its hired emissaries, together with Mr. Wilson, a chemist, who had also been prominent in denouncing the trade.

The policing of Johannesburg is so bad as to render life there a reign of terror for English ladies, as is shown by Mrs. Lionel Phillips in her recent book. The large savage and semi-savage population collected there for work in the mines are a perpetual danger, owing to the imperfect supervision of the streets and the practical impunity for all crime committed on aliens.

HOSTILE ACTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. R. L. Tottenham sums up as follows the breaches of the Convention and acts unfriendly to Great Britain perpetrated by the South African Republic within recent years:

“The closing of the drifts; the Alien Immigration Act (since repealed under pressure). The action with regard to Bunu, King of Swaziland; the Alien Expulsion Act; the commandeering of British subjects, and seizing of goods and money; shipments of arms and ammunition to points on the border of the colonies, and even within them; intrigues with natives in Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Zululand, and elsewhere, and the supplying of arms to them in some instances; intrigues with various bodies in Europe, Asia, and America against British policy; the indirect supply of Transvaal public money for the support of the Bond party in the Cape Colony at elections; the subsidy of a Press unfavourable to the British Empire; the circulation of treasonable literature among the Dutch, and of printed mutinous addresses to Her Majesty's troops;

the maltreatment of British coloured subjects; the invasion of the privileges of the British Vice-Consul; the sham conspiracy for the destruction of the Johannesburg fort; and the murder of Cape Boys by Transvaal servants for expressing sympathy with Great Britain. I leave out all the questions which could be considered purely internal, but hold that almost any one of those enumerated above, if not properly explained—and all of them are impossible of explanation—is a *casus belli* in itself. Leaving every question of excessive protection, heavy taxation, ruinous concessions, corruption of officialdom, the prostitution of the High Court, and the refusal of the franchise, out of reckoning, the studied attitude of defiance and insult adopted by the Pretorian Government was enough to fill the cup of Transvaal sins to overflowing."

III.—THE POLICY OF THE DUTCH REPUBLICS AND THE AFRIKANDER BOND.

The whole history of England's dealings with the Dutch Republics shows her to have been perfectly sincere in wishing to give a fair trial to the dual system she had herself deliberately established in South Africa. The obstacles to its harmonious working did not come from her side, nor was its overthrow of her seeking. But the partnership on the terms arranged by her did not satisfy Dutch aspirations, and the cry of "Africa for the Afrikanders!" was raised by President Kruger even before the battle of Majuba Hill. We find it as the closing phrase of the long Petition of Rights forwarded by him to the President of the Orange Free State on February 7th, 1881:

"With confidence we lay our case before the whole world, be it that we conquer or that we die; liberty shall rise in Africa like the sun from the morning clouds, like liberty rose in the United States of North America. Then it will be from the Zambesi to Simon's Bay—*Africa for the Afrikanders!*"

THE UNITED STATES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Towards the consummation of that ideal Mr. Kruger

has been working all his life, and for its furtherance the Afrikaner Bond was founded. His constant efforts to shake off the shackles of the Conventions, to obtain a maritime outlet, to open relations with European Powers, have been unceasingly directed to it, and the accumulation of the vast armaments brought into play in the recent campaign brought it nearly within his grasp by rendering the Transvaal the greatest military force in South Africa.

The taxes wrung from the Outlanders were used to this end, and weapons of the highest quality were imported, sufficient not only to arm the burghers of the South African Republic, but those of the Orange Free State, and the Dutch colonists of the Cape as well. In 1894, that is before the Raid, a sum of £500,000 was secretly transferred by the Transvaal Government to an agent in Europe, for purposes not publicly specified; and all the burghers were supplied with new rifles. At the same time, two years before the Raid, 23,000 Gueder rifles, with 100 rounds of ammunition apiece, were despatched to disaffected Dutchmen in Cape Colony. The Outlanders loudly protested against this system of arming. Favoured by the accession to power of a Bond Ministry in Cape Town, and the prospect of a formidable rebellion in both colonies, the federated Republics had every chance of carrying out their programme of driving the English to the sea with the continent to reconquer from Table Bay to the Limpopo. Only, indeed, the few days' respite granted by an unexpected delay in mobilisation at Pretoria saved the tiny garrisons in Natal from being overwhelmed before the landing of the first reinforcements from India.

Canon Farmer, an English clergyman recently returned to England after five years' residence in the Transvaal, tells, in the pages of the *Manchester Guardian*, how, on the eve of his departure, Chief Justice Gregorowsky said to him, "Is it really necessary for you to go, as the war will be over in a fortnight? We shall first take Kimberley and Mafeking, and give the English such a beating in Natal that they will have to sue for peace." The writer goes on to say how he was told by friendly officials that they would put from 90,000 to 120,000 men in the field, and "com-

pletely smash" the English. Yet, in the teeth of the too obvious fact of British want of preparation to meet such a danger, there are people found to declare that the English Government deliberately forced on the war in the interest of the capitalists of the Rand.

It was, on the other side, long looked forward to, and long led up to by the project for the confederation of the Dutch race. Underlying all minor subjects of dispute was the main question, whether the southern half of the equatorial continent should eventually be made one as the "United States," or the "Great Dominion" of South Africa. The foundation was laid for the triumph of the former idea in the formation of the Afrikander Bond, with objects plainly stated in its own publications :

The Bond (we are told in a pamphlet published in 1882, and consisting mainly of articles from the Cape Dutch papers) must be our preparation for the future confederation of all the States and colonies of South Africa. . . . The one hindrance to confederation is the English flag. Take that away and our South African Confederation would be established in less than a year. But as long as the English flag remains here, the Afrikander Bond must serve as our Confederation. England will, ere long, find it advisable to keep Simon's Town as a naval port, and hand over the rest of South Africa to the Afrikanders.

Adherents are warned to buy nothing of an English tradesman, or even of one who advertises in an English newspaper ; exclusive business connections with Holland being urged instead, "for the future of Holland lies in South Africa." The Transvaal and Free State are bidden to prepare for final hostilities, by learning to make their own ammunition, and by providing themselves well with cannon and trained artillerists. How well this lesson was taken to heart recent history shows.

At the same date, General Joubert wrote to Lo Bengula, urging him to join the Boers in order to "drive the English stink out of South Africa," and Mr. Theo. Schreiner has told of his interview, eighteen years ago, with Mr. Reitz, formerly President of the Orange Free State, and now Secretary of the South African Republic, in which he admitted that the object of Afrikanderism was to set up

a nation and a government in South Africa entirely independent of British control.

CONSPIRACY IN CAPE COLONY.

Evidence to the same effect is adduced by many residents in Cape Colony, one of whom, an English gentleman, writes as follows to the *Manchester Guardian* :

Some home papers ridicule the idea that a conspiracy has long been hatching to oust British rule, but, believe me, it is perfectly true. That not only the Transvaal and Free State, but the Bond in this colony were working steadily with the same object in view, has been proved again and again.

Ten years ago the Fraserburg District Branch of the Afrikaner Bond passed a resolution that the future Afrikaner Republic of all South African States must be under the Transvaal flag ; the same resolution was put at a meeting of the Bond here, and the chairman of the meeting told me he shelved the discussion as being somewhat premature. The present Dutch Reformed Church minister here told me two years ago that the object of the Bond was a future Dutch Republic, and when I asked him where Britain came in, he replied that she could guard the coasts, and have a large share of the trade for doing it. Such remarks have often been made to me as, "We want to choose our own President. What right has England to send out Governors?" And, "The Afrikaners are in the majority, and will never be satisfied till they have made their own dominion free from England," &c., made, not by men of straw who boast, but by men having property worth thousands of pounds here.

Evidence such as this could be repeated *ad nauseam*. It may be remarked that the idea of England defending the coasts of the Dutch Republic would account for the vote for the contribution of a warship to the Imperial Navy by the Afrikaner majority in the Cape Parliament, regarded by the simple-minded Briton as such an unanswerable proof of loyalty.

INTRIGUES AND ARMAMENTS.

Except the achievement of national independence under the Transvaal flag, the Cape Dutch had no possible motive for rebellion, since they are not only without the pretence of a grievance, but are actually ruled at this moment by an

[No. 35 of *Fourth Series*.]

avowedly Afrikaner Ministry, with an Afrikaner majority in Parliament.

Neither is the offensive and defensive alliance between the two Dutch Republics explicable on any other ground than as a prelude to hostilities against England, with whom the Orange Free State had not had, in Lord Salisbury's words, "even a discussion." The unification of the two States is believed to have been long planned by their Presidents, with the understanding that Mr. Steyn should be Mr. Kruger's successor as the President of the consolidated State. The suzerainty of England over the Transvaal was the main obstacle to the execution of this project years ago, and President Kruger's efforts to obtain its abrogation or explain it away were thus inspired by the desire to carry out an important item in his political programme.

There is every probability that about the time of the Raid there was a considerable amount of intrigue with Germany, and that great hopes were founded on her support. It is plain, however, that as regarded the Boer Republics, it must be purely Platonic, since with the English fleet to forbid the way, she could no more send a regiment to the Transvaal than to the moon. She could compel England to mobilise her navy and army simultaneously, but could lend no assistance to her landlocked and sea-blocked allies.

In furtherance of this ideal of national independence, vast armaments were accumulated, which by their character, as Lord Salisbury said, could only have been intended for use against Great Britain. Begun before the Jameson Raid, these armaments were continued more openly after it, and the distribution of weapons was extended not only to the Free State, but to the Dutch colonists of Natal and the Cape. "The result of these preparations, carried on with great secrecy (continued the Prime Minister, in his reply to the overtures for peace of the two Presidents) has been that the British Empire has had to confront an invasion which has entailed upon the Empire a costly war and the loss of thousands of precious lives. This great calamity has

been the penalty which Great Britain has suffered for having for so many years acquiesced in the independent existence of the two Republics."

They abused their independence by seeking to undermine by intrigue and overthrow by arms the nation to which they owed it, and rendered impossible the continuance of the dual system of nationalities which failed to satisfy their aspirations and made their discontent an ever-present peril for South Africa.

Not only were British colonists incited to rebel, but British troops to mutiny, and Mr. R. L. Tottenham, writing in the *Morning Post* of February 5th, vouches for the fact that a year before the Bloemfontein Conference, sheets were being printed and circulated among the soldiers urging them to refuse to take up arms against the Transvaal. It is believed that the actual outbreak of war was originally intended to have been two years later, when the armaments would have been still more formidable, but that the younger Boers got out of hand and forced it on. Diplomatic pressure by Sir Alfred Milner, who was clear-sighted enough to fathom the plot, also precipitated the crisis, as the Boers may have feared that a rupture of negotiations might otherwise have occurred at a season of the year less favourable to their mode of warfare.

The facility with which the Boers had defeated England in the last war inspired them with an arrogant contempt which made the enterprise of driving her out of South Africa seem a comparatively easy one to them, with their vastly increased armaments. This temper was betrayed in the letters of a Cape Dutchman, signing himself "P. S.," in the *Times* of October 14th and 17th last. That the British race is decaying; that the army is recruited from the dregs of the population, deficient in physique and in all the qualities that make good fighting men; that they are so feeble as to be unable to march a few miles even in their own country; that desertion is extremely frequent even in such unpromising places as China and Japan; and that "the marching power, endurance, and stamina of your voluntary dregs is about half that of the manly nations of Europe," are some of the statements on which this

British subject bases his belief that in a few short weeks "you will be relegated to your proper position—considerably below Spain in the estimation of the world." With such convictions abroad it was not wonderful that Mr. Kruger, strong in the possession of 300,000 Mausers and a great force of artillery superior to that of this country, should have felt in a position to defy the Paramount Power and drive the hated "rooineks" into the sea.

IV.—ENGLAND'S GROUND FOR INTERVENTION.

The constant aggravation of the position of the Outlanders and the closing of every channel of appeal for redress left them no resource but to throw themselves on the mercy of England. The reception by Her Majesty's Government of the monster petition drawn up in March of last year, and signed by 21,000 British subjects, committed them irrevocably to intervention on their behalf, and in the last resort to war.

DEFENCE OF HER SUBJECTS.

Sir Alfred Milner has been criticised for resting his demand primarily on the concession of the franchise, since England, having conceded internal self-government to the Transvaal, had no technical right of interference on this ground. It was probably selected as providing the Transvaal with the easiest mode of escape, and President Kruger, if not bent on war, would doubtless have availed himself of it. The modest representation of the Outlanders by only a fourth of the Volksraad would probably have left them in as bad a plight as before, while their acceptance of Transvaal citizenship would have enabled England to wash her hands of them. A golden bridge of retreat was here proffered to Mr. Kruger, had he accepted these terms without condition or tergiversation. That England had ample ground for interference under other heads will have been evident from the foregoing summary of the facts of the situation. Apart from all Conventions she had the inalienable right of intervention on behalf of her own subjects, whom it is her boast that her arm is long enough to shelter in any quarter of the globe. We have recently

seen Italy send an ultimatum to Turkey in protest against the abduction of a single Italian girl, for whose sake she was presumably ready to go to war. In China, murders like those of Edgar and Mrs. Applebe, in which there is reason to suspect the connivance of the authorities, are held to justify military reprisals, in default of the condign punishment of the offenders.

England herself undertook a costly expedition to Abyssinia for the liberation of her subjects imprisoned at Magdala, whose rescue cost about a million per head.

TREATMENT OF NATIVES.

A second legitimate ground of interference was the barbarous treatment of the natives, who had been once her subjects, and whom she had handed over to their hereditary persecutors with nominal guarantees for their protection under the Conventions. Slavery, prohibited by those instruments, exists under the name of apprenticeship, legalised by the Apprentices' Act. We have seen how 8,000 prisoners were distributed to a commando after a native war, and as Khame said, "We are like money. They sell us and our children." The natives in the Transvaal cannot own land, and have no legal rights, being regarded as of no more account than farm animals. On their behalf England was entitled to intervene at any time since the retrocession of the Transvaal.

SELF-PROTECTION.

Lastly, she had an incontestable ground of action in the Boer armaments which could only be directed against her. So far from dating only from the Jameson Raid, as has been pretended, they were in part the cause of the Johannesburg rising, as they formed a manifest threat to the unarmed population. No State can permanently tolerate the existence of another as practically an *enclave* in its dominions, except where there is such disparity of strength as to render it innocuous. Self-preservation, the primary law of nations as of living organisms, rendered war with the Transvaal inevitable from the moment it began to arm on such a scale as to render it a formidable

neighbour, with the power of attacking British territory from a central position on all sides at once. As recent events have shown, 50,000 men would have been required permanently stationed on the frontiers of the Cape Colony and Natal to render them safe from invasion. England would have had a live shell *en permanence* in her premises, if disarmament were not insisted on, as it should have been years ago. No other Power would have tolerated the situation for six months, and we have only to imagine the action of Russia were the Amir of Bokhara to import similar weapons across the Afghan frontier to realise how supine the English Government has been in this respect. So far from dealing harshly with the Transvaal, she has erred on the side of leniency, making concession after concession in order to disarm its hostility. The history of their relations is one of a series of offences on one side condoned through clemency or weakness on the other.

BRITISH CONCILIATORY POLICY.

British diplomacy, however, took its stand on the franchise, and Sir Alfred Milner made a qualification of five years' residence, to count retrospectively, the minimum of his demands. This was at one time offered by President Kruger, coupled with the conditions that England should abstain from further interference in the Transvaal, and drop the assertion of the suzerainty. These conditions would probably have rendered all concessions nugatory, since they would assuredly have been wrested, after the fashion of Transvaal diplomacy, into complete abandonment by England of the further protection of her subjects, and into the recognition of the Republic as an international sovereign State. Yet, even these terms the British diplomatists were willing to concede, and there is no possible explanation of President Kruger's subsequent and final retraction of the five years' franchise, offered on August 15th, save that he never had any serious intention of making any such changes.

For we now know (says the *Tablet* of March 3rd) from Mr. Montagu White, late Consul-General of the Transvaal in

London, that indirect negotiations still continued, and "Diplomaticus" now publishes (in the *Fortnightly Review*) a version of the Smuts Memorandum—the instrument by which the five years' franchise was offered—by which our Government expressed its willingness to give to the Transvaal the fullest possible assurances about the suzerainty. The amended clause ran as follows: "Further controversy on the subject of suzerainty will be allowed to drop, both Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic agreeing that their relations are defined by the London Convention (1884) and the Government of the South African Republic agreeing that their claim to complete sovereignty as an international State is not justified by those Articles." Mr. Montagu White was ordered to cable this assurance, and did cable it, to Pretoria; and a fortnight later the Boer armies crossed the frontier and invaded Natal. And yet the men who declared war with that document in their pockets have been able to persuade their followers that the struggle was forced upon them by the rapacity of Great Britain.

The negotiations on the franchise question, which had been put in the forefront by the English Government, because it would have enabled the Outlanders to fight their own battle for the future without further intervention, having been thus abruptly closed, they announced that they would formulate their demands in another shape. Even then, so strong was the hope of a peaceable settlement, that the military preparations were not pressed on, and many people heard with dismay that they were postponed for a week, during which the Cabinet was reconsidering its position. Whether it would even then have sent an ultimatum, or what its ultimate resolve would have been, will never be known, for its action was anticipated by that of the Presidents of the federated Republics.

ULTIMATUM AND INVASION.

The time had come when the growth of the grasses on the veldt enabled the Boers to take the field, and within forty-eight hours of launching against the British Government an ultimatum, demanding the withdrawal of British troops from the colonies, they mobilised their forces for the invasion of Natal. Had they not been a week out in their calculation of the time required for transport to the frontier, they would probably have been able to carry out their oft-repeated threat of driving the British into the sea, for

only that short breathing-space allowed the garrisons to be reinforced by the landing of the first reinforcements from India. How insufficient their numbers were, even then, the history of the subsequent campaign abundantly shows, since the defence was at all points heavily handicapped by want of adequate preparation. This is in itself a sufficient answer to those who assert that the war was one of England's seeking, forced by a policy of deliberate rapacity on a weak and unoffending neighbour.

V.—CATHOLIC DISABILITIES IN THE TRANSVAAL.

The assertion that this is a religious war is true, but in a sense opposite to that in which it is so described by the critics of England. The battle of freedom of faith is being fought by her, and that of sectarian exclusion by her enemy. The Calvinism the Dutch brought with them from Holland has developed under the isolation of life on the veldt into a creed largely evolved by the Boers from the Old Testament, with a comparison ever present to their minds of their own Exodus to that of Israel from Egypt. The view of themselves as a privileged people, with a charter of exclusive possession of their Promised Land, and a right to persecute and anathematise those of other faiths, has largely modified their political history.

DISABILITIES OF CATHOLICS.

Their fundamental statute prescribes profession of some form of Protestantism as a necessary qualification for the franchise, a seat in either Chamber, or appointment to any place under Government. In order to remove the disqualification imposed by this law on Catholics and Jews, President Kruger introduced a measure into the Raad in the course of August last for the removal of religious disabilities; but despite his great influence with that assembly, failed to carry it through.

AN IRISH OUTLANDER.

It is to the credit of the Outlanders that they have always associated these disabilities with their own grievances as

subjects for redress. An old resident in Johannesburg writes to the *Tablet*, under the signature "An Irish Catholic," as follows :

No Catholic is allowed to hold or qualify for a Government position unless he becomes a member of the Protestant Church, even if he be a full-blooded burgher of the land. Just fancy, the Chevalier O'Donoghue, a leading Irishman, one of the oldest residents in the Transvaal, a man who has fought side by side with the Boers on many a battlefield, not being allowed to qualify as a Raad member. He is not even a voter, with all the services he has rendered the Transvaal. For years past the question of religious disabilities has been on the programme of the Transvaal Reformers, and now, owing to the Uitlander Council including some three or four Catholics among the members, the question has become very prominent. A month ago, and again last week, the great Uitlander demonstrations were addressed by Mr. St. John Carr, one of the leading Catholics and Irish Nationalists ; and his magnificent appeal to the Uitlanders to stand firm for their rights was one of the finest speeches heard in South Africa. Last week we had a large meeting of Jews and Catholics, addressed by the Chief Rabbi, St. John Carr, and many others. A deputation was appointed to wait on the President, to urge upon him the necessity of giving them their religious rights as agreed upon by the Convention. Kruger said he would see about it. The question was brought before the Raads in a secret session, the wily old President advocating the Jewish and Catholic claims, knowing at the same time the Raads would dismiss the question at once, which was ultimately done, and our co-religionists were told to wait another twelve months and they would then consider again. When is all this going to end?

OTHER IRISH CATHOLICS QUOTED.

Another Irishman writes in answer to Dr. Leyds, who had denied these facts, to say that he had frequently seen notices calling for applications for Government appointments, in which it was distinctly stated among the necessary qualifications, that the applicant must belong to the Protestant religion.

A still more important witness cited by the *Tablet* is Mr. Fitzpatrick, who in reply to a letter from the office, stated that he had repeatedly remonstrated against the injustice of the regulations affecting Catholics, and had been told only a few months ago by the State Attorney,

Mr. J. S. Smuts, that no relief could be given to them without at the same time extending it to Jews, which they were not prepared to do. In reference to appointments to the Civil Service, Mr. Fitzpatrick writes as follows :

About three months ago, my attention was drawn to the case of a young South African, born Roman Catholic (I fancy he was a Transvaaler), son of Irish settlers, who got a billet and was removed when it became known what his religion was. Dr. Leyds's own notices for billets in the Education Department always stipulated applicant must be a Protestant, and the law to-day stipulates that all members of the Volksraad must be Protestants.

Another young Catholic was requested to change his religion as a condition of his employment, and indignantly refused.

A FRENCH PRIEST'S LETTER.

Father Gidrol, one of the Oblate Fathers who have spiritual charge of the Dutch Republics, Natal, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland, has been writing an account of those regions in *Les Missions Catholiques*. His description of the relations between Catholics and the Boers is to the following effect :

When trekking, the Boers were careful not to forget their Bibles and their ministers. For a long time Catholics were out-laws. They could not aspire to governmental functions, they had no right of franchise, active or passive, they were not even allowed to practise their form of worship. This was a souvenir of the old persecuting laws of Holland. A story is told of the visit of the first Romish priest to the capital, Potchefstroom, which threw the Huguenot camp into confusion. "Woe to thee !" cried a fanatic minister, "Woe to thee, Potchefstroom ! For Satan hath fallen into thy midst in great wrath !" The city magistrate feared for the time that the Republic was in danger. He sent for the missionary, read the laws of the country to him, and forbade him to exercise his ministry under pain of immediate expulsion. The priest calmly replied that having come to Potchefstroom to visit his co-religionists, perform a marriage service, and baptise some children, he thought it his duty to perform his duties to the end. "When I have finished," he added, "if you will kindly transport me to the frontier, I shall be extremely obliged. I am very poor, and unable to afford the expense of a horse, much less of a waggon." And he was as good as his word.

The influx of foreigners to the Rand has to some extent mitigated these violent prejudices, and Father Guiller, a Transvaal missionary, was one day asked to baptise two Boer children. "We won't go to our ministers," was the answer to his questions, "because in our religion you always have to pay, and as we are poor the minister always refuses us. Our children can't be baptised because we can't afford to pay five shillings to become Christians. We can't be confirmed because we cannot afford ten shillings. For a wedding we have to pay £2."

He adds that they have little hope of converting the Boers, but that a diminution in their prejudices is being gradually effected by the influence of the convent schools, which are open to the children of all creeds. From contact with Catholic teachers they are able to disabuse their parents' minds of many errors, the growth of centuries of ignorance.

The Catholic missions are, he says, suffering everywhere from the war, as the people have either fled or taken up arms, while the priests are acting as chaplains to the Catholic soldiers in both armies.

AN IRISH PRIEST ON THE BOERS.

The Irish papers' persistence in maintaining the toleration and generosity of the Boers in their dealings with Catholics elicited from Father O'Reilly, an Irish Catholic priest of Wynberg, South Africa, the following outspoken reply as to their character :

In reply to a letter in your late issue about the *status* of Catholics in the Transvaal, will you kindly allow me to make the following remarks? (1) It is against the law of the South African Republic for any Catholic to hold office of any kind in the State, or to vote for the Raads or the President, no matter how long he may have been in the country. Catholics and Jews are ranked with coloured people and "illegitimates" in these disabilities. (2) President Kruger, to gain their favour, quite recently proposed to remove Catholics and Jews from such a degrading category, but whether he was sincere or not, the Raad rejected his proposition. Consequently, if the rather wild assertion of your correspondent (as to the employment of Catholics) were true, this would simply mean defiance of the law, and an enemy would only have to draw the attention of the Government in order to oust such Catholics out of their positions. (3) The only people in the Transvaal who employ Catholics, aye, and liberally support Catholic institutions, are the much-decried

capitalists, who employ 100,000 people irrespective of creed or nationality, and pay four millions annually in taxes to the Government. (4) As to Leyds, he must have concealed his Catholicity very successfully. I, for one, should not be more astonished if I heard that Satan himself were a loyal son of the Church. (5) As to the Pretoria nuns, the gift, if any, was from the British Government, which in 1881 stipulated for the non-disturbance of existing institutions, when handing over to the Transvaal Executive. My own conviction, however, is that there was no gift whatever, but simply compensation for destruction of property during the siege, the British garrison having occupied the convent as the best strategic position for the defence of the town.

BOERS AND CATHOLICS IN THE WAR.

Bishop Gaughran, of Kimberley, declares that "the Catholic Church is the bugbear of the Boer," and that "Catholics are heathens to him." Two recent instances of violent bigotry may be adduced from events during the late war. The first was after the battle of Magersfontein, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking at Sherbrooke, near Quebec, is the authority for it.

After the assault by Lord Methuen on the position occupied by the Boers (he said) there was great loss of life and the plain remained covered with dead. Among the British killed were some Irish and Scotch Catholics. Naturally, these people had hoped that if they fell on the field of battle their burial would be conducted by their chaplain. Lord Methuen asked for an armistice in order to bury the dead. The Boers agreed, but they stipulated that no services should be conducted by a Catholic clergyman, but that only one Protestant clergyman should be allowed to officiate. Gentlemen, could intolerance go further? If that is how they treat the dead, what will they do with the living?

A second picture of the conduct of the Boers as belligerents is contained in a letter from a missionary priest in South Africa, now acting chaplain with the forces in Zululand.

As a Christian (he writes), I take my stand with those who would remove from South Africa one of the most unchristian forms of government existing among Caucasian peoples. This assertion may come as a surprise to many. The Bible-reading Boer is in his practical life not nearly so much a Christian as the better class European Freethinker or Agnostic. The ordinary Boer looks upon and treats a known Catholic as one to be despised and driven from his door. . . . Even as I write

now we have just received a letter from the Mother Prioress of the Dominican Convent in Newcastle. She was compelled to fly on the advent of the Boers, and is now with her community in Maritzburg. She writes to one of her Sisters here. After having related how the Boers have destroyed everything in the convent, she proceeds: "Indeed, their doings are too horrible for me to write here."

She then tells of the shocking profanation of the little church, which, as well as the sacred vestments, was put to the vilest uses, and left in an indescribable state of pollution. The grief of the Sisters may be imagined at the profanation of their little sanctuary, the adornment of which had been their pride and joy. No wonder that the narrator should ask, as he goes on to do: "Are we then, we here in the midst of such people, to be told from Europe that such people are cultured, aye, even civilised; that such people are pious Christians? As a Catholic, I shall rejoice in the eternal overthrow of the unjust Government."

The triumph of the British arms in the present campaign means the triumph of enlightenment over ignorance, of toleration over bigotry, and of liberty of conscience over the arrogant tyranny of Dutch Calvinism, surviving from the sixteenth into the nineteenth century.

VI.—BOER TREATMENT OF NATIVES.

The same tyrannical temper that has led to the present rupture by the denial of political rights to the Outlanders, has vented itself in still more cruel forms of oppression on the feebler races indigenous to the soil. On this point, too, the writer last quoted furnishes testimony.

The Boer (he says) regards his black-skinned neighbour as a soulless brute, without the scope of Christ's redemption. One of the first statutes of the Grondwet, the Boer code of laws, proclaims that there shall never be equality, whether in Church or State, between the black man and the Boer. The Kafir is not recognised by the law as possessing any rights, even those supposed in every civilised land to be inalienable in every human being. . . . They are, I believe, not permitted to purchase land, or possess themselves of any real property, or acquire any semblance of independent labour or effort, but must dwell on the farm of one or other of the burghers, who treats them as he likes, makes them work at the sting of the sjambok, and gives them any or no wages as he feels inclined. They need have no

grievances, for the law courts are non-existent as far as they are concerned. Why, it was only just before the war that a Boer—one of the famous Uys family—diabolically flogged three native girls with a stirrup strap, so that two of them died practically on the spot, whilst he got off with a trivial punishment. They were only two black children, two young dogs! And this is the “good Christian Boer!” This was, of course, an exceptional case, but the same spirit is the spirit of the whole Boer nation, as we know from personal contact, and as one can judge from the sympathy the Boer law showed in this case with the criminal, and not with the murdered children.

Another instance of Boer savagery is attested by Mr. Lucas, lately acting as Chief Magistrate at Durban.

A MAGISTRATE'S EVIDENCE.

When on a tour of inspection near the sources of the Buffalo River (he writes in the *Globe* of March 14th), it was reported to me that a party of natives—thirty or forty men, women and children—*en route* to the Basuto country, put up for the night at a kraal just inside the Transvaal boundary. They were espied by a Boer, who informed the neighbouring Field-cornet. This man collected a dozen or so ruffians like himself, went to the kraal, called the travellers out of the huts, shot all the men unarmed and in cold blood, and took the boys and girls away. I could not believe that such an atrocity could have been perpetrated. Mr. Osborne (afterwards Sir Melmoth Osborne) was with me, and believed the report, knowing the Boer character well. However, my doubts soon vanished; for a few days after the report reached me, this same Field-cornet accompanied by other Boers, came to my camp, asking for gunpowder permits on the magazine-keeper at Ladysmith. I mentioned the report. The Boers made no bones about it, saying what I had heard was true, and seemed proud of the business. I need hardly say that these people got no permits from me. I believe that they went faster out of camp than they came into it.

This hapless party would seem to have been British subjects who accidentally crossed the frontier, and their kidnapping and murder was in itself a cause of war, and ought to have been made so. England is now paying a heavy price by way of retribution, not for her aggressiveness, but for her tame acquiescence in such foul misdeeds. Many of the stipulations for the protection of natives existing in the Pretoria Convention were eliminated from the London Convention, which thus became the charter of Boer tyranny and oppression.

MR. FOX BOURNE'S VIEW.

Mr. Fox Bourne, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, though evidently partial to the Boers, gives the following summary of their view of native rights :

In theory, not in practice, the Boers regard the natives (all of whom they contemptuously call Kafirs, whatever their tribal differences) pretty much as the ancient Jews, whom in other particulars they somewhat resemble, regarded the Philistines and others whom they expelled from Palestine, or used as hewers of wood and drawers of water, but with added prejudice due to the difference of colour. So it was in the case of the early Dutch settlers, and so it is to-day, with a few exceptions due to the influence of the missionaries, whose work among the natives has from the first been objected to and hindered. It is only by social sufferance, and not by law, the marriage of natives with Christian rites is recognised, and it carries with it none of the conditions as regards inheritance and the like which are prescribed by the Dutch-Roman code in force among white men. As a matter of fact, natives have no legal rights whatever. If they are in the service of humane masters, mindful of their own interests and moral obligations, they may be properly lodged and fed, not overworked, and fairly recompensed ; but, from the cruelties of a brutal master, perpetrated in cold blood or in a drunken fit, the native practically has no redress.

This writer tells us that the office of Superintendent of Natives has been held from its inception by Commandant Cronje, "against whom charges of arbitrariness and tyranny have often been brought, and of whom nothing favourable is on record."

COMMANDANT CRONJE AND THE INDUNAS.

A sample of this officer's methods is contained in Mr. Fitzpatrick's volume, in his report of the investigation into the case of Sikukuni's widow, and her indunas. It appears that he sentenced the former, without hearing any evidence against her, to pay a heavy fine, and about twenty of the latter to a severe flogging. Asked whether he had communicated to them the fact that they had a right of appeal from the sentence, it was elicited from him that he had, but after the flogging had been administered. One cannot help rejoicing that British arms were the instrument of inflicting

some small measure of retribution on this cruel tyrant, now the prisoner of St. Helena.

BOERS AND MISSIONARIES.

The Boer view of the natives as soulless brutes was illustrated in their treatment of Livingstone. They burned and looted his camp, and his life was probably saved only by the accident which delayed his return to it. All preaching of the Gospel within their bounds was proscribed, and they announced that they would make war upon any tribe who received Christian catechists or teachers.

But that some at least were open to conviction on the subject is shown by an interesting anecdote of Livingstone's father-in-law, Robert Moffat, quoted from his Life in Mr. Basil Worsfold's "Story of South Africa." At a Dutch farmhouse in Cape Colony, where he was hospitably received, he asked, when the Bible was brought out for prayers after supper, where were the Hottentot servants whom he had seen on the farm.

"Hottentots! (said his host) Let me go to the mountains and call the baboons if you want a congregation of that sort. Or stop—I have it! My sons, call the dogs that lie in front of the door—they will do."

Thereupon Moffat selected as his text, "Even the dogs eat of the crumbs . . ." The old Boer was so much moved that he rose and summoned the despised Hottentots. Afterwards he said to Moffat, "My friend, you took a hard hammer, and you have broken a hard head."

BRITISH RULE AND NATIVES.

The advocates of the Boers usually reply with a *tu quoque* to the reproach of cruelty to natives alleged against them, but Mr. Fox Bourne declares that the compound system enforced at the Diamond Fields, and complained of by some, works on the whole well and fairly.

And it is at least a comforting reflection that the oppressed native in British territory has zealous advocates in this country who will not fail to bring his case before the bar of public opinion, while in the Transvaal there is no such possibility of redress.

The enslavement of the natives was one of the arguments adduced in favour of the annexation of the Transvaal in

1877, and Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Cape Colony, averred in December of the previous year that

The scenes of injustice, cruelty, and rapine, which abundant evidence is every day forthcoming to prove, have rarely ceased to disgrace the Republics beyond the Vaal ever since they first sprang into existence.

Some of this evidence, Mr. Fox Bourne tells us, was sent home to Lord Carnarvon, and is quoted to the following effect :

The whole world may know it, and investigation will only bring out the horrible details, that through the whole course of this Republic's existence it has acted in contravention of the Sand River Treaty ; and slavery has not only occurred here and there in isolated cases, but as an unbroken practice, as one of the peculiar institutions of the country, mixed up with its social and political life. It has been at the root of most of its wars ; it has been carried on regularly even in the times of peace. It has been characterised by all those circumstances which have so often roused the British nation to an indignant protest, and to repeated efforts to banish the slave trade from the world. The Boers have not only fallen upon unsuspecting kraals, simply for the purpose of obtaining the women and children and cattle, but they have carried on a traffic through natives who have kidnapped the children of their weaker neighbours and sold them to the white man. Again, the Boers have sold and exchanged their victims among themselves. Waggon loads of slaves have been conveyed from one end of the country to the other for sale, and that with the cognisance of, and for the direct advantage of the higher officials of the land.

These facts made the retrocession of the Transvaal no less indefensible from a humanitarian point of view than on grounds of general policy.

VII.—CATHOLIC VIEWS OF THE WAR.

Many expressions of belief in the justice of the British cause come from Catholics in South Africa, both clergy and laity. At the head of such testimony comes that of Bishop Gaughran, of Kimberley, who endured the siege of the Diamond City. In a letter to an American paper, he writes as follows :

A CATHOLIC BISHOP ON THE WAR.

I can with a safe conscience say that I think England very
[No. 35 of *Fourth Series*.]

seldom had a more just cause for war. The state of things in the Transvaal was a scandal to the nations. Chamberlain's indictment of the Transvaal Government was perfectly fair. I have no hesitation in saying so, and I have had thirteen years to study the question. I am not an Englishman, as you know, nor are my sympathies in general with England ; but in this case I do believe that England will do credit to our common humanity by forcing a small state calling itself a republic to give equal rights to all. Those who invested their money in the country had no hope of ever having a voice in the government of the country, and yet the Outlanders were twice as numerous at least as the original usurpers. For, in my mind, I do not give to the Boers of the Transvaal the title of nationality. They simply killed the Kafirs fifty years ago, and they took their place. There is nothing in this that implies prescription for a nation. The prejudice of the Boer shows itself principally as regards the Catholic Church, and, secondly, as regards the civilised habits of European nations. The Catholic Church is his bugbear. Catholics are heathens to him. To my mind, a war is the best way to end the unrest and insecurity that torment and paralyse the country here at present. We shall suffer from it—probably we shall suffer a great deal—but in the end the country will gain, and gain immensely. As far as you are concerned, do not allow the plea to prevail that the Transvaal is a republic except in name.

A JESUIT'S LETTER.

The Rev. Father Henry Gillet, S.J., formerly of Belize, now of the Jesuit Mission at Dumbrody, Blue Cliff, South Africa, confirms his Lordship's views. He expresses similar convictions on the subject in a letter addressed to the Right Rev. Bishop Hopkins, Vicar-Apostolic of British Honduras, subsequently published in the Belize *Angelus* :

It is becoming more manifest that the whole of this miserable war has been brought about—not by the people, so to say, but by the very means which the Boer party are anathematising so persistently on the part of the Imperialists. I mean that it is being shown up now that there has been a conspiracy of German and Hollander, whom, you must bear in mind, the Boers like very little more than the English, moneyed men belonging to the Berliner *Handelsgesellschaft*, or Chamber of Commerce, started by Bismarck with Leyds as tool to undermine all British authority in South Africa. This the British Government has been aware of since its inception, and some of the moves, otherwise inexplicable, have become manifest under this belief. Bechuanaland annexation, Matabeleland, Mashonaland, &c., were so many pegs put

to thwart it; and the demonstration of England at the Emperor's telegram to Kruger after the Jameson Raid, ditto. The case resolves itself thus: the simple Boers have been used as tools to oust the English, and know little or nothing of the *casus* at all, except that they have been gradually drilled into a gnawing hatred of whatever is English because they are tyrants, land-grabbers, &c., &c., and always to the front. Were these wirepullers and distributors of money cleared off the face of South Africa the Boers and Britons would pull well enough together, as they do in the more civilised and educated parts, or each mind his own work quietly as the uneducated do.

This letter is interesting from its assertion of the German intrigue, the threads of which have never been unravelled publicly, but which has doubtless been an unseen factor in South African politics, accounting for much in them that is still mysterious, including perhaps the Jameson Raid.

The writer goes on to explain that the opinion of most of those who have had to do with the Boers is practically the same.

The progressive element (he says) are half Anglicised, and the uneducated are so completely controlled by their *predikants* that stories of priestcraft are pale compared to their absolute reliance and submission to *predikants'* words. As in Jamaica the local preachers were responsible for the rebellion, so it is the *predikants* who are suspected of poisoning the Boer mind, and it is in their kirks that news of movements, &c., is given. The present position is like the French Revolution; the cries of liberty, tyranny, race hatred, &c., are cloaks of hypocrisy. Poor simple farmers, forsooth! Crushed people! Bosh! They are the aggressors: with full malicious intent they have armed and drilled so as to face the best European soldiers, and even yet talk of conquering the whole of South Africa. Thank God, the rule of thieves is to quarrel, and the two Republics find that thief No. 1 has backed out, and that thief No. 2 hesitates and remains neutral, leaving the tools to work out the business or take the punishment if beaten, but 1 or 2 will step forward promptly to share or even appropriate the spoil if they win.

The acting Chaplain to the Forces in Zululand, already quoted for the relations between Catholics and Boers, writes to the following effect on the general political question:

A MISSIONARY PRIEST ON THE SITUATION.

As one of the cloth (he says) I am pre-eminently a man of

peace, as much so, I make bold to say, as the Tsar of Russia ; and yet in spite of this, and of the persistent impeachments of that admirable man and journalist, Mr. Stead, I am an entire believer in the righteousness and necessity of the war. Now I am going to tell you what I know—not from printed accounts read 6,000 miles away—but after more than sixteen years' missionary residence in South Africa, sometimes in the midst, and always in the vicinity of the Boers. When I say Boers, I mean the South African Dutch, as a nation, and the governing class in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. I fail altogether to understand how any unbiassed, liberal-minded, and enlightened person who knows the Boers and their government, can believe or say otherwise than that they are both incompetent and unjust in their government. They are altogether incompetent to govern (according to modern methods of enlightened government) persons of European customs and ambitions. Save that they wore on their legs a pair of "breeks," and carried a "Bibel" under their arms, they were only one generation ago, in point of knowledge and intelligence of elevating aspirations and of cultured modes of life, not one step more advanced than the average mission Kafir anywhere in South Africa. During the last twenty years, since the influx among them of all manner of European immigrants, they have improved ; they had to improve, much against their will and choice. All the great marks of progress and civilisation are regarded by the bulk of the population as undesirable and unnecessary innovations. What difficulties were not made even in the last ten years in the introduction of the railway into their State ! And it is precisely this same flooding of their country with the hurly-burly of industry and busy civilised men, brought about by the discovery of the gold-fields, that is at the bottom of their present dislike for and misunderstanding anent the presence among them of the "Verdomde Uitlander." Their country is almost as large as France or Germany, and I have not heard of any industry or factory of any importance established therein by themselves on their own initiative. There is scarcely an article of civilised life manufactured by the Boers. Until the advent of the Outlander compelled them to import Hollander experts from Europe, like Dr. Leyds and Dr. Mansveld, there was not a school even of the infant class heard of in all the land ; and even to-day, taken as a nation, they are more illiterate than the Turks ! Speaking roughly, the only book of importance existing in their language is the Bible, and the great majority of the burghers hardly know what a newspaper is. To expect good and sensible land laws from such a class of humanity ; to expect Englishmen, Americans, Germans, of a high class of culture, learning, and intelligence, to submit themselves indefinitely—because for a good many years they have been vigorously though constitutionally protesting against it—to such an inferior class of government as must result

from such a mass of ignorance and incompetence, is to expect the impossible.

VIII.—SOME OUTSIDERS ON ENGLAND'S POSITION.

The condemnatory attitude of the foreign Press, ascribing England's action in South Africa to the deliberate design to crush a weak State through greed of gold and territory, has elicited some striking evidence in her favour. The *Univers* having stated in its issue of October 28th, on the authority of Dr. Leyds, that the English were arming the Kafirs, while the Dutch had always refrained from doing so, Mr. J. d'Hotmaul, J.P., wrote from Pietermaritzburg on December 2nd, indignantly repudiating the charge.

LETTER IN THE "UNIVERS."

Such an accusation (he says) is a base calumny, founded on a huge lie. We here are accustomed to the way in which the Doctor, so sparing of the truth, is accustomed to dock it. But, under the actual circumstances, this last outpasses all limits. The fact is it was the Dutch who armed the Basutos against the Natal Volunteers in the battle of Besters, whilst at the Mooi River Hottentots and Griquas were amongst the Dutch combatants. The English Government, in strict accordance with the promise given by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons, has even abstained from employing our natives as scouts, while the Dutch have had no such scruples. I should, therefore, be obliged if you would give early prominence to this rectification. An admirer of that great Christian man, Louis Veuillot, you will allow me to say in all frankness that your articles and those of the French Catholic Press against England are a source of real pain to the majority of the Catholic clergy and people of South Africa, who, under the flag of England, enjoy the fullest liberty as citizens, besides meeting with a help and encouragement for our schools which you certainly do not get in France. In the Transvaal the Catholic religion is not viewed with a kindly eye, and no Catholic can look for any official employment. Such a state of things simply does not exist here under the English flag. You are not, perhaps, aware of what we old colonists know so well, that President Steyn of the Free State, as far back as eighteen years ago, was busy preparing the present war by raising the Dutch in Africa in concert with Paul Kruger, Reitz, Hofmeyr, and others, and for this object founded a secret society somewhat like Freemasonry—the Afrikander Bond. Père Limbour, of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost and the Sacred Heart of Mary, and a Professor of Philosophy in

Paris, who is in possession of all the details of this Machiavellian plan, will be able to enlighten you on the subject. England is not the instigator of the war, far from it. That is the historical truth of the matter in our eyes, who have for eighteen years watched the doings of the Bond.

AN AMERICAN LADY.

The nominal Republicanism of the Transvaal has been made a ground for evoking sympathy with its cause among democratic peoples, notably those of the United States; but community of sentiment on this basis is indignantly repudiated by an American lady writing from Cape Town to the New York *Tribune*. In name only, she says, does a republic exist in the Transvaal, and she goes on to ask:

Does a republic permanently disfranchise two-thirds of its adult male white population, keep them disfranchised, and frame laws for disfranchising their children?

She then continues her catechism as follows:

Does a republican minority tax a republican majority for an enormous secret service fund?

Does a republican minority tax an unenfranchised majority forbidden to carry arms, to build and equip huge forts which at a moment's notice can be used against a defenceless people?

Does not republican independence include the freedom of the Press, and the right to hold public meetings?

Does it not ensure trial by a jury composed of one's peers?

Can a true republic permit its President to dismiss its judges, reverse their decisions, and command its Legislature to pass a law declaring that the judges were not entitled to test the validity of a law by its agreement or conflict with the constitution? . . .

Further, is it Republicanism when a railway scheme is to be floated that four-fifths of the Legislature should receive presents for their favourable votes, and the eminently Christian President make the candid confession of his principles that "he saw no harm in members taking presents"?

Every Monday morning in Johannesburg sees 20,000 Kafirs too drunk to go to work. They are drunk on the vilest liquor ever manufactured or sold. A law was framed restricting its sale. Mr. Kruger, an ostentatious total abstainer, denounced the law as immoral, "because it deprived a number of honest people of a livelihood."

M. RECLUS ON THE DUTCH.

The aspirations of the Dutch to political supremacy, still

denied by many in this country, is fully recognised by Elysée Reclus, in his work on Africa, in which occurs the following passage :

The patriotic Boers of South Africa still dream of the day when the two Republics of the Orange and the Transvaal, at first connected by a common custom union, will be consolidated in a single "African Holland," possibly even in a broader confederacy comprising all the Afrikanders from the Cape of Good Hope to the Zambesi. The Boer families, grouped in every town throughout South Africa, form collectively a single nationality, despite the accident of political frontiers. The question of the future union has already been frequently discussed by the delegates of the two conterminous Republics. But, unless these visions can be realised during the present generation, they are foredoomed to failure. Owing to the unprogressive character of the purely Boer communities and to the rapid expansion of the English-speaking peoples by natural increase, by direct immigration, and by the assimilation of the Boers themselves, the future "South African Dominion" can in any case never be an "African Holland." Whenever the present political divisions are merged in one State, that State must sooner or later constitute rather an "African England," whether consolidated under the suzerainty of Great Britain or on the basis of absolute political autonomy. But the internal elements of disorder and danger are too multifarious to allow the European inhabitants of Austral Africa for many generations to dispense with the English sceptre.

The present struggle shows how accurately he had forecast the future, and gauged the line of cleavage between the two sections of the white population of South Africa. Equally shrewd are his remarks on Boer characteristics.

Following the analogy of the Hebrews, they regarded themselves as a Chosen People, and the native races as doomed beforehand, like the inhabitants of the land of Canaan, to slavery or death. Thus turning the land into a solitude, and breaking up all tribal and social organisation among the natives, they tolerated them only as "apprentices," a euphemism for slaves.

MAX O'RELL ON THE BOND.

The English cause has a sturdy champion in Max O'Rell, who in lecturing in Toronto on "John Bull, Sandy, and Pat," expressed the warmest sympathy for the British in their struggle in South Africa. He declared that he had

resided in the two great Republics of the world, France and the United States, and that he had everywhere proclaimed in both that "there is only one country in the whole world where, socially and politically, the people are perfectly free, and that is Old England." He went on to speak of the Afrikaner Bond, and said that when he was in South Africa seven years ago, its plain object was, by constitutional means if possible, to free South Africa from England, to stir up the Dutch population, and form the country into a republic or confederation.

When I was in South Africa (he went on) I used to go to the meetings of these people and hear what went on. I remember, on my return to France, telling a friend of it, and he said: "My dear fellow, what are you talking about? Do you mean to say these people are not prosecuted for their treason?" I said, "Not a bit of it." He said: "Do you mean to tell me they hold those meetings and no one interferes with them?" "No," I replied, "nobody at all." "Well, surely," he said, "you do not mean to tell me that the Government do not send the police to these meetings?" "Oh," I said, "yes; the Government do send the police to these meetings, but not to interfere with the speakers, much less to arrest them. The police are there to protect them."

He went on in the same vein to describe a bye-law in force on the railways in South Africa which would have killed the Bond long ago if there had been the slightest sense of humour among its members.

"That bye-law is or was (he said) that when the members of the Afrikaner Bond wanted to travel about Cape Colony to attend their meetings, so as to one day free South Africa from the yoke of the English, the Government gave them tickets at reduced prices. I remember reading that bye-law one day when journeying to Johannesburg, and I said to a companion: 'My dear fellow, I understood before that the Englishman knows how to make colonies. Now I understand how he manages to keep them.'"

CONCLUSION.—"IMPERIUM ET LIBERTAS."

The extension of the Empire means the extension of liberty. Were it not so the inhabitants of the freest communities on the face of the globe, the English self-govern-

ing colonies, would not be standing shoulder to shoulder with the picked troops of the old Monarchy to fight its battle on the African veldt. The Transvaal, like Venice of old, is a narrow oligarchy masquerading as a republic, denying political rights to the Outlanders, civil rights to the natives, and maintaining religious disabilities for Catholics and Jews. Protestantism, in its most aggressive form, that of Dutch Calvinism, is the State creed, and its supremacy, among other embodiments of tyranny, is at stake in the present struggle.

No priest or missionary in South Africa doubts that the triumph of English arms will enlarge the circle of Catholic influence and teaching there, as it has done in other parts of the world. Nowhere, indeed, does the Church enjoy such absolute freedom as under British law. Here, and in the colonies alone, bishops enjoy the same unrestricted liberty of action in the exercise of their sacred functions that is accorded to the laity in the discharge of their lawful avocations. They can hold synods, they can meet in conference, they can discuss the needs of their several dioceses, they can decide at will on a common course of action without the slightest interference from the civil power. That this is not so in Catholic countries on the Continent we need not impress upon our readers, nor do they require to be reminded how Governments there are the creatures of the secret societies, with the persecution of the Church as their avowed or unavowed mission.

Though in a minority in this country, we are accorded, not only perfect freedom of worship and of ecclesiastical administration, but much consideration and assistance from the State. Our schools receive grants to the amount of £300,000 per annum, and Catholic chaplains are appointed for soldiers, gaols, workhouses, and other institutions. If a complaint is made it receives a fair consideration from the authorities, and for any grievances remaining to us we hope in time to secure a remedy.

In the colonies the Catholic Church shares equally with those of other denominations in the courtesy and consideration of the authorities. This is especially so in South

Africa, where its progress has been rapid and continuous. In the various towns of the Cape Colony the most cordial feeling prevails between the Catholic community and the clergy and citizens of other persuasions; as in Graham's Town, where the Anglican clergy attend the annual prize-giving at the Jesuit College of St. Aidan's, and its pupils play football matches with those of the Wesleyan and Episcopalian colleges, while the teachers of all are on the most friendly terms.

The branches of the House of Nazareth receive everywhere the most generous support, and the Dominican Sisters in Rhodesia are held in the highest honour by the settlers and the authorities of the Chartered Company, as indeed they well deserve to be.

For the Church, as for every other form of social enterprise in South Africa, a largely increased sphere of activity may be hoped for as the issue of the present war. Not only will a fresh area be secured to industrial development in the opening up of the retrograde Dutch Republics, but a stimulus will probably be given to emigration to all the colonies from the great interest excited in their future and the more vivid realisation of the opportunities offered by them it has brought home to the inhabitants of this country.

The price that is being paid to secure the peace and prosperity of that portion of the Empire, the sacrifices it will have cost the nation, will enhance its future value. In money alone over sixty millions sterling will have been expended by the end of the summer, and the more costly expenditure of life during the first five months amounted to over 16,000, between killed, wounded, and missing. The loss represented by the devastation of property, the cessation of trade, the neglect of agriculture, the waste and wreckage of war, are items in the account no less vast than incalculable. "South Africa," said Sir Alfred Milner in one of his despatches, "is prepared to suffer much," in the hope of ultimate redress of grievances. It has suffered, more perhaps even than it bargained for, and we would fain hope that its recompense will be in proportion. But even if the opinion of the rest of the

world were unanimously opposed to England, she can appeal to that of four-fifths of the human race in the population of her own colonies and dependencies. Here the verdict of men of many races, tongues, and creeds, is solid in her favour, and is backed by their contribution, without any constitutional or other obligation, of contingents aggregating 30,000 to her armies in South Africa. Among the Canadian troops who bore so conspicuous a share in the fighting at Modder River, was a whole company speaking nothing but French, and her subjects of the same race in the Channel Islands showed their enthusiasm in her cause by voting the equipment of a battery of artillery. The vernacular Press of India, at other times verging on sedition in its criticism of the British Administration, is on this question as loyal as that of London; and the native princes have vied with each other in placing the resources of their States at the disposal of the Imperial Government. In every quarter of the globe the varying fortunes of the campaign have been followed with an interest as feverish as that felt in the mother country, and the joy in the British victories has been the joy of a world.

In his eloquent speech in the House of Commons in Ottawa on March 14th last, Sir Wilfrid Laurier disposed as follows of the assertion that Mr. Chamberlain had been preparing for war from the previous July: "It will be," he said, "to the eternal glory of England that instead of preparing for war last summer, that war found her practically unprepared. Mr. Kruger had been preparing for years for war, buying munitions, accumulating provisions, importing European officers, and drilling his people; and when the time came, and he thought he was ready, he issued his insolent ultimatum, calling upon England to give up her possessions in South Africa. England was found absolutely unprepared, and consequently had to submit at the outset to successive defeats." Irishmen, who do not always see eye to eye with their English fellow-subjects, are, where brought face to face with the circumstances, unanimous with them on this, and a meeting of Irish colonists in Cape Town on St. Patrick's Day passed the following

resolution : "This meeting of Irish colonists records the profound conviction that in the present war the Empire is fighting for justice and peace, and tenders to the High Commissioner its absolute confidence and respectful sympathy in his grave anxieties."

ART. II.—SCOTTISH BENEDICTINE HOUSES OF THE PAST.—III.

By REV. MICHAEL BARRETT, O.S.B.

Registrum de Passelet, Maitland Club.

New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VII., 1845.

Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel, Ayrshire Archæological Association.

Paisley Abbey. Rev. J. CAMERON LEES, D.D. 1878.

THE first Cluniac house founded in Scotland was that of PAISLEY. It owed its origin to the munificence of Walter Fitz-Alan, High Steward (or Stewart) of Scotland, the ancestor of the House of Stuart. Walter belonged to a Shropshire family*; he came under the notice of David I. at the siege of Winchester, in 1141, when the Scottish king was supporting the claims of his niece (the Empress Matilda) in her contest with Stephen. David, on his return to Scotland, took the young Fitz-Alan into his service and showed him many and special marks of favour. Malcolm IV. continued this generous patronage, and in due time the Stewart became possessed of ample territories in Renfrewshire. It was upon this property that he founded his monastery, as he says in the charter, "for the good of the souls of King David, of King Henry†, of Earl Henry, and of my relations and benefactors, and for the welfare of the soul and body of King Malcolm and of my own soul, and to the glory of God, Who hath given me the grace to do it."‡ It was thus that Christian men in the Ages of Faith repaid the benefits of those who had befriended them.

A prior and thirteen monks were brought for the new

* The Fitz-Alans of Shropshire became afterwards Earls of Arundel. *Vide Chalmers: Caledonia*, Vol. II., pp. 572-6.

† Henry I. of England, a patron of his family.

‡ Reg., p. 1.

monastery from the Cluniac Priory of Wenlock, in Shropshire, the founder's native county. The date of their arrival cannot be accurately ascertained, but it was between the years 1163 and 1169. The monastery bore a fourfold dedication; its patrons were St. Mary, St. James, St. Milburga, and St. Mirin. Our Lady was a favourite patron with the Cluniacs; moreover, St. Mary and St. James were the titular saints of the church of the Inch, Renfrew, where the monks had first settled before removing to Paisley. St. James was patron of the Fitz-Alan family, and this probably accounted for his name having been bestowed upon the church in question. St. Milburga was the royal Saxon saint whose relics had acquired special distinction for Wenlock; St. Mirin, the ancient apostle of Paisley and its neighbourhood, left the Irish Bangor in the sixth century to evangelize the unbelievers of the sister island. The Aberdeen Breviary states that the church of Paisley was anciently dedicated to St. Mirin; his memory was already dear to the people of the place when the monks arrived, and his tomb continued to be a favourite place of pilgrimage till the Reformation.

The first church built at Paisley by the founder was probably a much simpler erection than that whose chief portions still remain. A Norman doorway in the nave, with some adjacent windows, are thought to have formed part of the first building. During the troubles relating to the succession, the greater part of the abbey was burned by the English, and it was only when more peaceful days dawned that the monks were able to raise again their ruined sanctuary. The abbot who carried out the greater part of this renovation was Thomas Tervas, and it is a curious fact that the necessary funds were obtained by the selling of wine at a tavern within the gates of the monastery. The charter of James II. conferring that right upon the abbot is to be found in the Register.* When Abbot Tervas died in 1459 he had been able to complete the greater part of the church, and to provide for it, as will be seen later, much rich and costly furniture.

* "Damus et concedimus pro perpetuo officiariis, ministris et deputatis Abbatis de Pasleto qui pro tempore fuerint potestatem plenariam tabernandi et vendendi vina infra portas dicti monasterii," &c., p. 258.

When completed, towards the end of the 15th century, this noble building consisted of a nave 96 feet long and 29 feet broad, aisles measuring 11 feet across, a transept 90 feet long by 32 feet broad, and an aisleless choir, 123 feet by 32 feet. Its central spire rose to the height of 300 feet. A broad and deep arch with bold Early English mouldings formed the entrance on the west. The north door was sheltered by a deep porch with a parvise above. In this porch, Abbot John de Linlithgow, either because he had built it, or from motives of humility, chose to be buried in 1433. He had ruled the abbey during the reigns of twelve Popes and three Kings of Scotland. He is the only superior whose monumental inscription may still be deciphered. It is inside the porch in Early English text, and runs as follows:

"Johes. d. Lychtgw. abbas. hujus. monastiz. xx. die. mesis. Januarii. ano. dm. mccccxxxi. Elegit. fieri. sua. sepultura."*

Within the church, the pointed arches of the nave were supported on either side by six massive circular clustered pillars. Above these arches ran a triforium of richly decorated circular arches, each divided by a column into two pointed decorated arches. Above these the closely set windows of the clerestory shone through Early English tracery. At the west end were two fine pointed windows over the entrance, and a third of equal size in the gable above. The unusually long choir was fitted with "statlie stallis" for some six and twenty monks. Near the altar were four beautifully carved recesses in the south wall, containing seats for the sacred ministers. Upon the high altar stood the "statliest tabernakle that was in al Skotland, and the maist costlie." The furniture of the sanctuary comprised chandeliers of silver, a lectern of brass and "mony uther gude jowellis" which had been "brocht hame" by Abbot Tervas from Rome.†

The south wing of the transept was eventually cut off by

* "John of Lychtgow, abbot of this monastery, made choice of this burial place the 20th day of January, 1433." *Abbey of Paisley*, p. 216.

† The description of the furniture is in the words of the *Chronicle of Auchenleck*, p. 19. The "tabernacle" was probably a tryptich.

two pointed arches supported on a central pillar to form a separate chapel; this was known as St. Mirin's Chapel. It was built in 1499 by James Crawford of Kylwynet, burgess of Paisley, and Elizabeth, his wife, and dedicated to the ancient patron of the city, with whom the founders associated St. Columba. The chapel, though small, must have been of great beauty. It measured 48 feet in length, and had a groined roof and a fine east window. Under the window ran a broad band of magnificent carved work, representing incidents in the life of St. Mirin, as given in his legend. This work has been conjectured to have been transferred from an earlier building of the twelfth century, or from some ancient shrine of the saint. After the Reformation, this chapel was converted into the burying place of the Abercorn family.

There are records of altars in the church, dedicated to St. Peter, St. James, St. Nicholas, St. Ninian, St. Columba, St. Anne and St. Catherine; besides these there is certain to have been one dedicated to Our Lady. The Chapel of St. Roch, in the burgh, with seven roods of land attached to it, belonged to the abbey; it was served by one of the monks. All the altars mentioned above were endowed for their special Masses. At the Reformation, the revenues of these altars, as well as of the chapel, were devoted to the erection and endowment of a grammar school and schoolmaster in the burgh.

Paisley Abbey, as it is now, surrounded by the smoke-stained building of a busy manufacturing town, is far different from what it must have been in the days of its glory. Its primitive situation was doubtless of striking beauty. The River Cart—in those days a pure mountain stream, called from the clearness of its waters the "White Cart," but now proverbial for its manifold defilements—flowed quietly by the level mead upon which the abbey buildings stood. On its opposite bank the ground rose upwards in undulating slopes, covered with woodland trees, to the lofty Braes of Gleniffer. To the north were more hills. The precincts were enclosed in a wall of dressed stone, upwards of a mile in length; they consisted of spacious

gardens and orchards, and comprised even a park for fallow deer. The wall, adorned with statues and shields of arms, bore under the image of Our Lady the inscriptions :

Hac ne vade via, nisi dixeris Ave Maria.
Sit semper sine vae, qui tibi dicet Ave.*

A tablet, let into the wall of one of the houses of the burgh, recalls the builder of this famous abbey wall, of which it once formed part :

"Ya callit ye abbot Georg of Schaw,
About yis abbay gart make yis waw ;
A thousande four hundereth zheyre,
Auchty ande fywe, the date but veir.
[Pray for his saulis salvacioun]
That made thus nobil fundacioun."†

The fifth line no longer exists ; it was hewn off in the eighteenth century by an over-zealous Presbyterian minister. Abbot Shaw also built a refectory and other conventual buildings, and in many ways greatly benefited the abbey.

From an inscription on the wall of the south transept of Melrose it has been discovered that the overseer of the mason work at Paisley was one John Morow, a Frenchman by birth ; no record remains of him in the latter minster. Much of the sculpture was carried out under Abbot Thomas Tervas, however, by Thomas Hector, familiarly called "Ald" or "Old" Hector in some of the existing memoranda.

The first historical event of any importance in connection with Paisley Abbey was the appointment of its first abbot. From its foundation till 1245—a period of eighty years—the monastery, in accordance with Cluniac practice, held the rank of a priory only. Its generous founder had liberally endowed it with worldly possessions. In his old age he had become a monk at Melrose, but at his death, in 1178, was buried at Paisley ; he had been long before received as

* Pass not along this way, ere you your Ave say.

From woe may he be free, who saith Ave to thee.

† "They called the abbot who caused this wall to be built around this abbey, George Shaw ; its date was 1485. Pray for the salvation of his soul who made this noble foundation."

a con-frater and participator in the prayers of the whole Cluniac Order.* His son, the second Stewart, imitated his father's generosity, and, like him, chose Paisley as the place of his burial. Walter, the third Stewart, was still more prominently connected with the abbey. The inferior position of Paisley among Scottish monasteries was displeasing to the founder's family. Its distance from France, too—for it was, like Wenlock, a dependency of La Charité—rendered it subject to many inconveniences as to the reception of subjects and their admission to profession. King Alexander III. accordingly appealed to Pope Honorius III.—probably at the instigation of the Stewart—and asked that Paisley might be raised to abbatial rank. The Pope, in 1219, appointed a commission, consisting of the Bishop of Glasgow and the Abbots of Kelso and Melrose, to enquire into the circumstances, and to allow the monks to elect an abbot if they thought well.† The commissioners duly considered the matter, and, after consulting the Prior of Wenlock, decided in favour of an abbacy. Nothing could be done, however, till the Abbot of Cluny gave his consent, and it was not till twenty-six years later that the desire of the monks was granted.

When the Council of Lyons assembled in 1245, William of Glasgow and other Scottish bishops took part. After the council was over the Abbot of Cluny entertained the Pope, the Emperor Baldwin II., the King of France, twelve cardinals, two patriarchs, three archbishops, and a crowd of bishops and of guests of lesser rank within his renowned abbey; it was probably on this occasion, in answer to the earnest request of the Scottish prelates, that Abbot William consented to allow Paisley to be raised to the rank of an abbey. In spite of this concession, nearly a century passed before the Abbot of Paisley received the crowning distinction; for the privilege of using *pontificalia* was not granted till 1334 by Pope Benedict XII.‡

The third Stewart, like his father and grandfather, was

* "Ipsum etiam Walterum, loci illius fundatorem et tanti beneficii largitorem, in fratrem suscipimus, et omnium orationum totius ordinis Cluniaci participem constituimus." Reg., p. 3.

† Reg., p. 8.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 429.

buried in the abbey, which thenceforth became the recognised resting-place of the family. By the generosity of the Stewarts, Paisley had by this time become the most wealthy monastery in the southern counties, with the exception of Kelso. When the Gilbertine house at Dulmullen, Ayrshire, which had been founded by the first Stewart, was relinquished by that Order in 1238, its property, including the revenues of four churches, was bestowed upon Paisley. The abbey had also rights over the mills belonging to the founder's family, a share in the deer killed in his forests, salmon and herring-fishing in the Clyde, a saltwork in Stirlingshire, and many other like privileges. It has been remarked that "there was not in all Scotland any example of a monastic establishment being so liberally endowed by a private family as that of Paisley by the first three Stewarts."* Kelso, its only rival south of the Forth, was, it will be remembered, a royal foundation. At the dissolution of the Scottish monasteries, Paisley held more than thirty parish churches, some of them served by mere chaplains in the pay of the abbey.

In 1296 Edward I. received the homage of the abbot, who, sorely against his will, was compelled to swear fealty to the English monarch. When Wallace came forward on behalf of his country's freedom, he had no truer friends than the monks of Paisley. He had probably been taught by them in early youth; for he was one of their parishioners. His veneration for the Church, his respect for the clergy, his love for the sacred offices, are witnessed to by historians; it is but natural that these qualities should be regarded as the result of his early training. To the same source may perhaps be traced the characteristic devotion of his after-years—"that love of the Psalms, which lasted until he died, with a priest holding a Psalter open, at his request, before his darkening eyes."†

The accession of the Stewarts to the Scottish throne, through intermarriage with the reigning family and the

* Chalmers: "Caledonia," Vol. VI. (ed. 1890), p. 822.

† "The Early Days of Sir William Wallace," by the Marquess of Bute.

failure of male heirs, brought Paisley Abbey into still greater prominence; for the descendants of the founder were always loyal in their affections towards the religious house which owed its existence to their ancestor. Henceforth it ranked among the royal abbeys.

Marjory, daughter of the Bruce, and wife of Walter Stewart, was buried in the Abbey Church about 1316. Her son, Robert II., was the first of the Stewart kings. This monarch became a generous benefactor to Paisley, erecting into a barony all the abbey lands of Lennox, in recognition of the fact that the house had been founded by his ancestor. King Robert was not buried in the minster, but in the Abbey of Scone. His first wife, Elizabeth More, and Eupheme, his queen, both found a resting-place at Paisley. Robert III. continued to show the same lively interest in the monastery, which his forefathers had always exhibited. By a charter of this king,* a large portion of the abbey lands were erected into a free regality; by this grant the abbot received a communication of the royal privileges as to exclusive criminal jurisdiction in that part of his territory. A similar grant had already been made as to other lands by Robert II.†

Robert III. was the last of his race who was buried at Paisley. His latter years were full of trouble. His favourite son, the Duke of Rothesay, had been murdered in the most cruel manner in Falkland Palace; his remaining son, afterwards James I., was seized on his way to France, and detained prisoner for some years at the English court. The shock of this second catastrophe hastened the death of the gentle, blameless monarch. "Bury me, I pray you, in a dunghill, and write for me this epitaph—'Here lies the worst king and most miserable man in the universe.'"[‡] Such are the words put into his mouth by an historian, and it is striking to note their almost literal fulfilment. Robert III. was probably the only Scottish king to whom no monument was ever erected. "The only record of his place of burial," says a modern writer, "is in the pages of the historian. The rank grass

* Reg. p. 91. † *Ibid.* p. 199. ‡ Fordun (Goodall), Vol. II., p. 440.

of the neglected and ill-kept churchyard waves over his resting-place, and the dust of the humblest mingles with his royal remains."*

In later times the abbots of Paisley were again brought into frequent contact with royalty by their promotion to offices of State. Thus, Abbot Henry Crichton (1464) was held in high esteem at the court of James III., and was employed in some important diplomatic negotiations. Abbot Shaw, who has been already mentioned as builder of some notable portions of the monastery, was entrusted with the education of the Duke of Ross, James III.'s second son, who later on became Archbishop of St. Andrews. The same abbot became, in 1495, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. He was always especially dear to King James IV., who was frequently a visitor to the abbey. It was from the same Abbot Shaw, one of the Papal Commissioners, that the king, in his youth, had received absolution from the excommunication incurred by him, in common with the other members of the conspiracy, for his share in the rebellion against his father, James III. The prince made a pilgrimage of penance, on that occasion, to the shrine of St. Ninian at Whithern, and afterwards went to Paisley to be absolved. The Treasurer's Accounts for 1491 show that he gave a present to the workmen at that time employed on the new buildings:

"Item, 21 Novembris, to the massonis of Paysla . . . Xs."†

In 1504 and 1507 there are records of several visits of the same king. In the latter year he and his queen, Margaret Tudor, spent eight days at Paisley, joining in the services of the church. Several offerings occur in the Treasurer's Accounts at this time, such as fourteen shillings at Mass, and the same sum for lights, on St. Anne's Day, with others of a similar kind.

It was under this sovereign that Paisley was erected into a burgh with its own cross and market, and all the privileges of a town; over it the abbot received full authority, including the power of trying his tenants for

* "Paisley Abbey," p. 121.

† Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, Vol. I., p. 183.

all offences without exception. He was able, also, to appoint a provost, bailies, and other officers, and to remove them at will, without any interference on the part of the citizens. It was in recognition of the honour done to Paisley, as well as of the many benefits received from the abbey, that several of the burgesses bestowed endowments, from time to time, upon the various altars and chantries in the minster.

Paisley, towards the end of its history, had to suffer, together with all other Scottish monasteries, from the scourge of "*abbots in commendam*." It was fortunate, however, in receiving as titular superior, in 1525, one who always took a keen interest in its welfare. John Hamilton, a natural son of the Earl of Arran, had been placed as a monk in the Abbey of Kilwinning in his early years. When Abbot Robert Shaw, through the influence of James V., was raised to the See of Moray, the vacant abbacy was given to the youthful Hamilton. The new abbot spent some three years at the University of Paris, in order to prosecute his studies, leaving the abbey in charge of the prior. When he returned, bringing with him a good reputation for learning and uprightness of life, Knox and his disciples, who were then rampant, had hopes of a new convert. The abbot, however, attached himself from the first to the Catholic party. He received many favours from his half-brother, the Regent Arran. He became Keeper of the Privy Seal, then Lord High Treasurer; later on he was named Bishop of Dunkeld, and eventually became in 1549 Archbishop of St. Andrews, still retaining his Abbey of Paisley. It is to be regretted that his moral character in later life did not fulfil the promise of his early years. He, nevertheless, died a martyr to Presbyterian hatred, on account of his staunch adherence to Catholicity and his unswerving loyalty to Queen Mary, being hanged in his episcopal vestments at Stirling in 1571, after having been more than once cited and imprisoned for the crime of saying Mass.

Archbishop Hamilton had resigned the abbacy of Paisley in 1553 in favour of his nephew, Lord Claud Hamilton, a boy of ten, retaining the administration till the youthful

commendator should have come to years of discretion. It has been surmised that the archbishop foresaw the universal wreck which was soon to come about, and resolved to save what he could. Lord Claud married—for he never became an ecclesiastic—and kept possession of the property he had acquired, passing it on to his family. A Protestant mob more than once attacked the abbey, but though the buildings were much ruined, they never met with the wholesale destruction meted out to some other monastic houses.

The people of the town clung to the old Faith, under protection of the Hamiltons, and refused to receive the new preachers. Their hearts were bound to the monks, who had always proved their best friends and most generous patrons; for, besides other charities, while the abbey flourished, seven chalders of meal were weekly distributed to the needy of the burgh. A few of the monks still lingered about their old home, and continued to say Mass in the remaining portion of the church as late as 1572. Doubtless, this helped to keep the Faith alive; for, nearly a hundred years after the Reformation, Paisley is described, in spite of continued persecutions from the Presbyterians, as "a very nest of Papists."*

The buildings passed through various hands in the course of their history—from the Hamiltons to the Earl of Angus and then to Lord Dundonald; part of the abbey, known as "The Place" of Paisley, became a mansion-house. The property eventually returned to the family of Abercorn, descendants of the last commendators, the Hamiltons. The gardens and park remained in their original state till about a century ago; now they are built upon, and the old mansion-house has been divided into tenements.

The nave of the church—the only available portion—was used for Presbyterian worship, in spite of the disgraceful state in which it was allowed to remain; for the fine western doorway was long blocked up by a dunghill; the graveyard soil covered the foundations up to the windows;

* "Paisley Abbey," p. 247.

and the interior was like a mouldy vault—its upper windows blocked by unsightly galleries. In 1862 the building was thoroughly restored, and is still used as a parish church.

The roofless transept and choir still remain, as well as two piers of the central tower. St. Mirin's Chapel is also in a nearly perfect state. As in the case of many other ecclesiastical ruins in Scotland, stones have been ruthlessly taken away for the erection of buildings in the town; yet, in spite of all its vicissitudes, Paisley, thanks to the zeal and care of lovers of antiquity, can boast of more extensive remains than any other of the old Scottish Benedictine houses.

The second of the Cluniac foundations in Scotland was that of CROSSRAGUEL, about two miles distant from Maybole, in Ayrshire. Its founder was Duncan, Earl of Carrick, who about the close of the twelfth century granted certain lands in the district to the Abbey of Paisley, on condition that a monastery should be established at Crossraguel by a community sent from the former house. Besides a generous donation of annual revenue, the earl presented many books and ornaments for the use of the church which would have to be built. All that seems to have been done, during some years, by the Paisley house, was the erection of a small oratory at Crossraguel, where services were conducted by some of the monks from the mother house. The earl, being dissatisfied with the way in which his wishes were being carried out, made complaint to the Abbot of Paisley, and obtained the help of the Bishop of Glasgow as arbitrator. The result was the establishment in 1244 of an abbey dedicated to St. Mary. The monks had the privilege of electing their own abbot, but the abbey was subject to the annual visitation of the Abbot of Paisley. Earl Duncan superintended the erection of the monastic buildings till his death in 1250.

It seems probable that the chief portions of the buildings now remaining were finished about the middle of the fifteenth century; it is therefore extremely probable that very little is left of the original structure. The church, to judge from its ruins, was an oblong building without aisles, terminating at its eastern end with a five-sided apse; it

measured about 164 feet in length and 25 feet in width. Originally there were transepts; but when the choir was rebuilt, early in the fifteenth century, the north transept was pulled down, and the south transept was converted into a sacristy with a chapter-house adjoining. A rood-loft formerly ran across the western end of the choir. Later on, when the new choir was erected, a solid wall, broken by an arched door only, divided it from the nave. There was a belfry gable at the junction of the two portions with openings for two bells. The High Altar in the apse was approached by three very broad, shallow steps—or rather platforms. The five windows surrounding the sanctuary were filled with rich tracery. Beneath the window in the south wall were *sedilia* for the sacred ministers under elaborately carved arches, and near to them was a *piscina*, decorated in similar style. It is curious that the *sedilia* were four in number as at Paisley. The feature is unusual and is found in a few churches only; it is not peculiar to the Cluniacs.*

The windows of the nave were all upon the north side, and the same arrangement is evident in the lower part of the choir; it was necessitated by the buildings of the monastery which adjoined the south wall of the church. The nave itself came to be called "St. Mary's Aisle," or "Virgin's Aisle";† this seems to point to some altar of Our Lady in the vicinity. The small church without aisles afforded no sites for altars besides the High Altar and perhaps two in front of the Rood Screen. Our Lady's Altar may have been, as in many other churches, in the latter position.

The sacristy, formed, together with the chapter-house, from the south transept, was a handsome building,

* It is not easy to account for the fourth seat in these cases. As it occurs in such divergent examples as Gloucester Cathedral (Benedictine), Furness (Cistercian), Rothwell, Northants (Augustinian), St. Mary Ottery and Stratford-on-Avon (Collegiate), and Turvey and Luton (parish churches in Bedfordshire), it seems highly probable that it was a mere fancy of the respective architects. In Southwell Minster (a collegiate church), the *sedilia* number five; in several churches there are two seats, and in some, one for the celebrant only.

† "Charters," Vol. I., p. 92.

measuring 20 feet by 15 feet, with a groined roof. The adjoining chapter-house was about 20 feet square. Between two graceful pointed windows at the eastern side was a stone seat in an arched recess for the abbot; a stone bench ran round the building for the use of the brethren. The groined roof was supported by a central pillar. Over these apartments were the scriptorium and the library. The cloister garth was about 56 feet square, and had a well in its centre; to the south stood the refectory, with, probably, a dormitory over it, and the common room, or calefactory, was to the west. The refectory was about 30 feet long and 18 feet wide; it had an arched recess for the reader, and a hatch opened into the buttery or pantry for the serving of meals from the adjoining kitchen. The Abbot's House stood towards the north-east, in connection with the gate-house, which was surmounted by a square tower of baronial style. All the offices requisite for a monastery may still be traced; but though the buildings were well arranged, they were not of great extent; for the monks never numbered more than ten or twelve at the most.

Crossraguel was always closely associated with the family of Bruce. In 1268 Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, married Marjory, Countess of Carrick in her own right; their son became eventually King Robert the Bruce. Thus the abbey was identified with the anti-English party during the wars relating to the succession. Nevertheless, the monks had to submit to the occupation of their house by the English general in 1306, when his army dominated the whole country round. Though some damage was done to the buildings in those perilous times, Crossraguel suffered far less than many of the other monasteries. The Bruce, when raised to the throne, did not forget the loyalty of the monks. During the latter years of his life, not only were his gifts of landed property frequent and lavish, but he formed all the possessions of Crossraguel into a barony under the abbot's jurisdiction. This grant was amplified by Robert III., in 1404, by the erection of the abbey lands into a free regality, by which the abbot received all the power and supremacy which the Crown was able to bestow.

The charter of Robert is an evidence of the affection which the royal descendants of the founder always cherished for the abbey.

Although the chartulary of Crossraguel seems to have been examined by Father Hay, the Augustinian, and other writers of the eighteenth century, when it was actually in the possession of the Earl of Cassillis, it has now disappeared. The only reliable source of information regarding the internal history of the house is the collection made by the Ayrshire Association of such scattered documents relating to the abbey as still exist in various libraries and charter-chests throughout Scotland. This, though valuable, does not profess to be complete ; hence, comparatively little is known of the progress of events at Crossraguel during the early part of its existence. Still, some few interesting facts may be gleaned.

From a visitation made in 1405 on behalf of the Abbey of Cluny, the number of monks then forming the community was ten. In 1460, an energetic abbot, Colin by name, set to work to restore the buildings. He gave himself with such interest to his task that he is said to have spent whole days among the masons and other workmen. The result of his devotion was probably the beautiful chapter-house and the other buildings of the same period and the restoration of the church. His architectural taste rendered him a favourite with James III.*

Abbot William Kennedy (1520) was a man of still greater influence. He was at one time a member of the Privy Council, and took frequent part in State affairs. He was a patron of learning, and an intimate friend of the leading men of his time. Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, of Glasgow, gave proof of his high esteem for the abbot by entrusting to his safe keeping all his treasure and personal property, when rumours of coming danger to the Scottish Church began to be heard. Besides nearly £4,000 in money, this deposit comprised a great quantity of rich vestments, jewels and plate.

The most distinguished of all the abbots of the house was, undoubtedly, Quintin Kennedy, the last regular

* "Charters of Crossraguel," Vol. I., p. xxxiii.

superior. He was the nephew of Abbot William, and succeeded him in 1547, when only twenty-seven years of age. It was a period of difficulty and danger for the Catholic religion as well as for monastic life, and Abbot Quintin was the only man of his time fitted for his arduous task. He was the son of the second Earl of Cassillis, and his noble birth was in after-years of immense advantage to the abbey in securing protection against persecution and oppression. Having received a thorough education at St. Andrews and in Paris, Abbot Quintin was well able to cope with the religious errors which were then spreading in Scotland. For the ten years which preceded the Reformation, he was almost constantly engaged in refuting Protestant principles. When the packed Parliament of 1560 overthrew the Catholic religion, the abbot defended his abbey so energetically, that through the influence of his family he was able to stave off for a time the destruction which threatened Crossraguel in common with all other religious houses. When the enemies of the Church at length prevailed, there is little doubt that the abbey was saved from utter demolition by his powerful influence alone. Knox thus relates the circumstances of its partial ruin :

"The Lords of Secreit Counsaill maid ane Act, that all Places and Monumentis of Idolatry sould be destroyed. And for that Purpose wer direct to the West, the Erle of Arrane, haveing joined with him the Erles of Argyll and Glencairne, togither with the Protestantes of the West, quho brunt Paislay (the Bischope of Sanct Androis, quha was Abbote thareof narrowly escaped) cuist down Failfurd, Kylwining, and a Parte of Corsraguell."*

Even after these events Abbot Kennedy had the courage to meet Knox himself in a public discussion at Maybole, in September, 1562.† The conference lasted for three days and the abbot maintained his part with conspicuous ability. It was brought somewhat abruptly to an end by Knox's demand for an adjournment to Ayr which the abbot refused. After devoting many years of his life to the refutation of error, and using with much success every

* Knox, "Historie," Book III.

† "Charters," I., p. 128.

means in his power to preserve the Catholic Faith intact among the people of Calloway, Abbot Quintin died in 1564.

Under Alan Stewart, to whom Crossraguel was granted *in commendam*, many of the monks, who had been driven out in the overthrow of part of the buildings, returned to resume monastic life. One of these, Gilbert Kennedy, was censured by the General Assembly at Ayr, in 1587, for refusing to communicate in the Presbyterian Kirk and for baptising privately.* There is evidence in an agreement between Sir Patrick Vaus and the Earl of Cassillis of some of the monks still surviving at Crossraguel as late as 1592;† this is probably the only instance of the kind in all Scotland at that date.

After passing through various hands, the revenues of this abbey were granted to the Bishop of Dunblane; but when, in 1689, the Parliament abolished episcopacy, they reverted to the Crown. From a letter of James VI.'s, published in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, it appears that in 1602 it had been in contemplation to restore Crossraguel to serve as a residence for Prince Henry. The letter, addressed to Sir John Vaus, runs as follows:

Richt traist freind we great yow hertlie wele. In respect we intend to caus build and repair the hous and place of Corsragwell to the use of our dearest sone the Prince to quhome the same is maist proper for his residence quhen he salhappin to resorte in thai pairtes.‡

The project, however, was never carried into effect.

The remains of the abbey, at the present day, include the walls and part of the gables of the church; the sacristy and chapter-house; and traces of the refectory and other offices. Considerable portions of the Abbot's House and its tower may still be seen. Conspicuous among the remains of the domestic offices is a large stone dovecot in complete preservation. It contains fourteen rows of small chambers for the nests of the pigeons.

In its palmy days Crossraguel possessed property of considerable extent. The greater part of the county of

* "Charters," II., p. 58.

† *Ibid.* p. 67.

‡ *Ibid.* II., p. 69.

Ayr south of the Doon belonged to the abbey. Five churches were in the patronage of the monks, and were served by vicars; two others, Dailly and Kirkoswald, were administered by chaplains only, the abbey appropriating all the revenues. The right of working the coal-pits on their property was exercised by the monks,* and mills and forests were other important sources of income.

With regard to the only other house of Black Monks existing in Scotland before the Reformation—that of IONA—there has been some discussion.† Spottiswood in his “Religious Houses,” says: “The old cloisters being ruined by the several incursions of the Danes, the monastery became, in the following years, the dwelling of the Cluniacenses.”‡ This opinion was generally received until it was called in question by the late Dr. Skene, Historiographer-Royal. In a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1873,§ the learned historian stated his belief that the monastery in question belonged rather to the Benedictines of Tiron. Quoting from the “Book of Clanranald,” he showed that Reginald, Lord of the Isles (1166-1207) founded “a monastery of Black Monks in I (or Iona), in honour of God and Columchille.”|| From the absence of all mention of the Order of Cluny in the confirmation by Pope Innocent III. (December 9th, 1203), of the aforesaid monastery, and from a comparison of that document with other Cluniac foundation charters, he argued that it could not have belonged to that body. On the other hand, the Tironensian foundations, he affirmed, are always styled monasteries of “Black Monks.” The donation of the “Brecbennach,” or *vexillum* of St. Columba, to the Abbey of Arbroath, by William the Lion,¶ strengthens this view; especially since that king at the foundation of the new monastery in Iona had granted

* “Charters,” I., p. 122.

† It is curious that it is a matter of controversy also as to the Order of Nuns established at Iona; on the houses of Benedictine Nuns, however, which were very few in Scotland, it is not the writer's intention to touch.

‡ “An Account of all the Religious Houses that were in Scotland at the Time of the Reformation,” Chap. viii.

§ Vide “Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,” Vol. X., p. 202 seq.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 204.

¶ Vide DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1900, p. 285.

to the Abbey of Holyrood certain churches in Galloway, which had formerly been attached to the original Columban monastery;* by the gift of the *vexillum* he would therefore seem to have wished to make some compensation to the monks of the Tiron observance. It is a striking fact that in a description of English and Scottish Cluniac foundations, which appears to have been compiled from Visitation Reports of the years 1298, 1390, and 1405,† Paisley and Crossraguel are the only Scottish houses mentioned, nor does the name of Iona occur in any part of the work which contains the document in question. It was on account of the difference of opinion concerning the family to which Iona belonged that this abbey found no place in an earlier article.

The church and monastery built for the Benedictines of Iona were commenced in the thirteenth century. The stone employed in the minster was red granite, brought from the adjacent island of Mull, where it is most abundant. The way in which the hard material has been worked has excited universal admiration. The windows, doors, cornices, arches, pillars, and ornamental parts were of freestone—also brought from Mull. The length of the church was about 148 feet; the choir measured 62 feet, and the nave about the same. There was a central tower and transept to complete the usual cruciform plan. The small nave may be accounted for by the monastic nature of the church, which was not intended to accommodate a large body of the laity.

A special feature of the building must have been its skillfully wrought carving. Many of the capitals of the pillars were elaborately decorated with foliage, grotesque monsters, and groups of figures. On the western pier of the north transept the sculptor seems to have intended to pourtray the history of the fall of man. On the southern side of the choir the three *sedilia* were richly decorated with carved

* Spotiswood speaks of these possessions as taken by the king from the Cluniacs; but Dr. Skene shows that the particular churches do not occur in the foundation charter of 1203, and must therefore have belonged to the old foundation.

† *Vide* "Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations," by Sir G. F. Duckett, Bart., p. 37.

heads and foliage. The sculpture of the church generally is still in a state of good preservation.*

The founder of the monastery, Reginald, Lord of the Isles, died in 1207, and was buried at Iona. Many of his descendants and successors have since found a tomb there. Of John, Lord of the Isles, the "Book of Clanranald" relates, "He died in his own castle at Ardtornish, while monks and priests were over his body, and having received the Body of Christ and Extreme Unction, his fair body was brought to Icolmkill, and the abbot and the monks and vicars came along with him, as it was customary to accompany the bodies of the Kings of Fingall . . . and he was laid in the same grave with his father at Teampull Odhran, or the church of St. Oran, in the year 138c."† Of Donald, his son and successor, it is said: "he gave lands in Mull and Isla to the monastery of Iona, and every immunity which the monastery had from his ancestors before him; and he made a covering of gold and silver for the relic of the hand of St. Columcille, and he himself took the brotherhood of the order."‡

The Western Isles, known as the Sudreys,§ were annexed to the Norwegian Diocese of Trondheim, when, in 1154, it was made a metropolitan See by Pope Anastasius IV. The Bishop of Man and the Isles was at that time a Norwegian, Ragnald, and he is styled in the Icelandic Annals first Bishop of the Sudreys. Iona consequently fell under Norwegian ecclesiastical supervision. A letter of Pope Innocent IV., of the year 1247, preserved in the British Museum, states that "The abbot of the monastery of the Order of St. Benedict, in the diocese of the Isles of the Kingdom of Norway," had complained that the Scottish abbots compelled him to attend their general council, although a general chapter, according to the constitution of the Apostolic See, was held within his province (of Trondheim). He was accordingly declared

* *Vide* Buckler's: "The Architecture of the Abbey Church of Iona."

† *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, Vol. X., p. 214.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ The Anglican title Sodor and Man, is derived from this appellation. The islands lying below Ardnamurchan Point were called Sudreys to distinguish them from the Nordreys—the more northerly islands.

by the Pope to be released from the obligation which the Scottish abbots sought to impose upon him.* In the same year the abbot met the Pope at Lyons, and received from him the privilege of *pontificalia*.

When the Western Isles were separated from Norway, and the See of the Isles became Scottish, Iona recognised the Bishop of Dunkeld as inheriting the rights of St. Columba. In the reign of Robert Bruce, Finlay, a monk of Iona, who had been elected abbot, sought the confirmation of William St. Clair, Bishop of Dunkeld.† In 1431, also, the Abbot of Iona, "did obeisance (*fecit obedientiam manualem*) to Robert of Cardeny, Bishop of Dunkeld, his ordinary."<‡

The Isle of Man was seized by the English in 1334, and a bishop was appointed in 1380, subject to the English metropolitan; the Cathedral of St. German was thus lost to the See of the Isles. It is not clear whether Iona became from that time the residence of the Scottish bishop, but in 1498 a petition was made to the Pope "for the erection of the abbacy of Colmkill in the bischoppis sete of the Ilis,"§ and from a letter under the Privy Seal of James IV., in 1506, it is clear that the request had been granted.||

Iona did not long enjoy its new dignity. Scarcely more than fifty years later came the downfall of the Scottish Church. A decree of the Synod of Argyll, concurring in the recent legislation of Parliament as to the suppression of "monuments of idolatrie," had the effect of inducing a mob of "reformers" in 1561 to invade the island and destroy everything that could be destroyed. It is said that out of 360 sculptured crosses standing there, only three were left. Some were thrown into the sea, others carried away to serve as gravestones in the adjacent islands, where their remains may still be seen.

With the monastery perished its ancient records and its valuable library. Some of its priceless treasures are said

* Origines Parochiales Scotiae, Bannatyne Club, Pt. II., p. 834.

† Proc. Soc. Antiq. loc. cit.

‡ Orig. Paroch. Scot., Pt. II., p. 291.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 293.

to have been carried away by its owners before the attack upon the monastery, and deposited in the Castle of Cairnburgh, on the neighbouring island of Cairnburgmore; but as the castle was burnt by Cromwell in a later age, they too have been lost. Among the contents of this library were thought to have been the lost books of Livy; Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., was intending to visit Iona in search of them, when he was in Scotland, but the death of James I. prevented him. Gibbon, it may be remarked, in his "Decline and Fall," states it as probable that Iona possessed an entire Livy.

A gold chalice of great antiquity, which formed part of the monastic treasures, became the property of Sir Lachlan McLean, and afterwards passed into the family of McDonell, of Glengarry. It was eventually presented to Bishop Ranald McDonald, and on his death passed to his successor, Bishop Scott, who was accustomed to use it for Mass at St. Mary's Catholic Chapel, Abercromby Street, Glasgow. In 1845, the sacristy of that church was unfortunately broken into, and the chalice stolen and melted down; the burglars are said to have been Catholics.*

The bells, according to a tradition of the islanders, were carried to Glasgow to be broken up for old metal, or, as others affirm, they were lost in the sea in transit thither.† From a letter of King Charles I. to the Bishop of Raphoe, it would, however, appear that one of the prelates of Iona had a share in this portion of the spoils. The letter ran thus:

Whereas we are informed that Andro, late Bishop of Raphoe at his transportation from the Bishoprick of Yles did, without just cause or any warrant from our late royal father or us, carry with him two of the principal bells that were in Icolmkill, and place them in some of the churches of Raphoe Therefore, and in regard that we have given order to the present Bishop of Yles for repairing the cathedral church of that Bishoprick, and that it is fit that such things as do properly belong thereunto be restored; it is our pleasure that you cause deliver unto the said Bishop these two bells for the

* "Iona," by Rev. I. F. S. Gordon, D.D. (1885), p. 29.

† *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

use of the said cathedrall church with such tymlic convenience as may be, etc.*

In 1693, or thereabout, Iona came into the possession of the Dukes of Argyll. The late Duke always took a particular pride in the island and its relics. Under his tenure the ruins were put into an orderly state, and through the investigations which were made, hidden portions were brought to light which have greatly added to the interest of these venerable remains. At the present time the walls of the choir are in pretty good condition, but the nave has almost disappeared. The roofless tower still forms a conspicuous feature from the sea. Many portions of the adjoining monastery have been identified and partially restored in the style of the original building.

The ancient altar stone was still entire in 1688. It was described by Sacheverell, who visited the island at that date, as one of the finest pieces of white marble, veined and polished, that he had ever seen—about five feet long and four feet broad. When another traveller, Pennant, saw it in 1772, a small portion only remained from the habitual pilfering of visitors. The last surviving fragment was removed later to form part of the altar of St. Andrew's Episcopal Chapel, Glasgow.†

An old prophecy of St. Columba, concerning the island which was so dear to him, has been thus translated :

Isle of my heart, Isle of my love,
Where monks have chanted kine shall low ;
But ere the day of doom shall be
Thy glories shall return to thee.

The prophecy has been literally fulfilled as regards its first part ; for the ancient cathedral was long a pasture-ground for cattle ; in the eyes of some the second part of the verse saw a partial fulfilment in the voices of Benedictine Monks lifted again in praise of God, when, at the Scottish pilgrimage of 1888, the choir at the Pontifical Mass was composed of members of the Benedictine community of Fort Augustus Abbey. Whether a more complete fulfilment yet remains, time will show ; but events seem at

* "New Statis. Acct.," Vol. VII., p. 332 (note).

† Gordon : "Iona," p. 29.

present to point in quite an opposite direction. Still it must needs be matter for thanksgiving that the sacred remains of this, as of the other ancient monasteries of Scotland, are beginning to be regarded, even by those of a faith alien from that of their pious founders, with the reverence which is their due.

MICHAEL BARRETT, O.S.B.

ART. III.—EDMUND BURKE AND THE REVOLUTION.

IT is remarkable that it is in countries where popular liberties are best understood, that men now seem most inclined to leave well alone, and peacefully to establish harmony and a *modus vivendi* between the three great and immemorial powers, Royalty, Aristocracy, and Democracy. The man that has succeeded in placing before the public the true theory of popular liberty, and has set in their proper light the true relations of these three powers, must be numbered amongst the greatest benefactors of mankind. That such was Edmund Burke, and that his wisdom is still living and operative in many lands, has been the verdict of the greatest men of his own and succeeding generations.

The list of Burke's admirers and followers include, Pius VI., Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., George III., the King of Poland, Catherine of Russia, Chatham, Johnson, Franklin, Mirabeau, Fox, Gibbon, Mackintosh, Erskine, Canning, Grattan, Bishop Milner, Bishop Doyle, O'Connell, Brougham, Joseph De Maistre, De Bonald, Montalembert, Frederick Schlegel, Adam Müller, Stolberg, and Görres. This admiration which, at times, subjugated Burke's fiercest antagonists, is an illustration on a world-wide scale of an observation of his recent editor, Mr. Payne. Alluding to Erskine's confession, then in opposition to Burke, that in his mind "all its best lights and principles were fed from the immense magazine of Burke's moral and political wisdom," Mr. Payne continues: "This estimate was not Erskine's alone. Those who wish to see to what intellectual eminence it is possible for a man to attain in his life-time, should read the Parliamentary debates of this time, Burke's opinions on all subjects are there quoted, like scripture, by all parties, and in the most opposite senses." *

* "Regicide Peace," p. 39.

The list of Burke's admirers and adherents embraces every school of politicians, every order in the State, and their adhesion, in some cases plenary, in others partial, is evidence that in his wisdom is to be found the secret of their union. Some, indeed, may urge that the sympathy of Pius VI., and so many sovereigns, stamps Burke as one of Mr. Morley's "reactionists," the favourite word with which he relegates his adversaries into philosophic, if not into Cimmerian darkness. Burke would agree with Dr. Johnson that "action and reaction are equal," and probably would be very much puzzled to understand how this word can be a term of reproach. That so it is, however, is plain with philosophers who hold that while human nature remains the same, new laws and forces have risen up which require a new arrangement of all our public and private duties. This idea which has evidently inspired Mr. Lecky's recent volumes on "Democracy and Liberty," was quite as widespread and much more brilliantly expressed in the days of Burke, and in every shape, open or disguised, he pursued the delusion, and vindicated the value of our inheritance of wisdom, without which, as he says, "each generation would be as fleeting as the flies in summer."

In our times Mr. Lecky is perhaps the foremost representative of this new philosophy of change. In 1892 he declared that Burke was "the greatest and truest of our political teachers,"*—in 1896 he concentrated all his energies to the destruction of those principles of generous religious liberty, which Burke declared to be the solid and necessary foundation of peace at home and abroad under the British Constitution. With what he calls a "cynical saying" of Lord Melbourne, and a flippant *on dit* of Macaulay, Mr. Lecky dismisses the question of the rights of ten millions of his fellow-subjects, and tells us that "the belief that Protestant and Catholic would become almost indistinguishable in the field of politics . . . has proved ludicrously false."†

It is questionable whether in 1892 Mr. Lecky carried an English majority with him: it is certain that he does not

* "The Political Value of History," p. 25, 1892.

† "Democracy and Liberty," Vol. II., p. 2, 1896.

now; and in proof of this I need only refer to the reception in Parliament of Mr. Balfour's speech on the Irish Catholic University question,* and the comments of the Press. This cause is as great, and as essential to the permanence of the Empire, as any of those for which Burke contended, and Mr. Balfour might have concluded his noble speech with the words of Burke, by substituting Ireland for America: "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. . . . We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. . . . English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all that it can be. In full confidence of this unalterable truth I now (*Quod felix faustumque sit*) lay the first stone of the temple of peace; and I move you etc."†

Salvation from anarchy, and its hideous broods by peace in our common Christianity, was the vital and energizing principle of the political wisdom of Edmund Burke. Mr. Lecky, on the other hand, is filled with alarm and forebodings at the results of the liberty granted to the Church in this Empire, in Germany, and in America. He tells us that, "In the Middle Ages, the two most democratic institutions were the Church and the Guild. The first taught the essential equality of mankind," etc., and in his second volume, "There are many signs that Catholicism will in the future tend more and more to an alliance with democracy," and, "it was a prediction of Count Cavour, that sooner or later Ultramontanism and Socialism would be allied. Much that has happened since the death of the great Italian statesman tends to strengthen the probability of his prediction."‡ When we read these pages and then turn to Mr. Lecky's "European Morals," written some thirty years ago, we find that he has returned to his youthful opinion that the destruction of Roman political virtue, and the fall of the Empire was mainly to be attributed to the influence

* The *Times*, March 24th, 1900.

† "Conciliation with America." Payne's Ed., p. 233.

‡ "Democracy and Liberty," Vol. I., p. 213. Vol. II., pp. 76, 79.

of Christian theology, and the asceticism of the Egyptian Solitaries. Of the Fathers of the Desert, the founders and doctors of the Christian life in the dark ages of Roman death, and barbarian life, the friends and advisers of Athanasius, and Augustine, he writes: "There is, perhaps, no phase in the moral history of mankind, of a deeper or more painful interest than this ascetic epidemic. A hideous, sordid, emaciated maniac, without knowledge, without patriotism, without natural affection," etc., etc.,* and then with Dean Milman, he goes on to quote Tertullian and St. Augustine, on the patriotism of those days with ignorance of their meaning as "ludicrously false," to borrow his own words, as anything to be found in Exeter Hall orations, or the after-dinner speeches of an Orange Lodge.

If inclined to indulge in recrimination, we Catholics might easily draw up a brief against those anti-Christian *littérateurs*, who for the last fifty years have been importing revolutionary doctrines into these countries; "Smugglers," as Burke styled their forerunners, "of adulterated metaphysics," but it will be better to let the great Protestant statesman speak for us; and we shall find that his enemies in the eighteenth century, and ours of to-day, belong to the same family. In 1792 he wrote, "that there should be a reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland. This last I hold to be the most essential part of the whole plan," and referring to the proposal of "bribing the Catholic clergy," he says, "This would be the destruction of all religion whatsoever; and when this is destroyed, nothing can be saved, or is worth saving. Gentlemen who call themselves Protestants (I do not well know what that word means, and nobody ever would or could inform me) are dupes of their own calumnious representations." . . . "In order to render the Catholics contemptible, they have ever represented them as men in all cases incapable of forming any ideas or opinions, or even wishes of their own," and then at great length and with extraordinary insight into our ways, he goes on to prove that "No Roman Catholic priest can make a pleasing

* "European Morals," pp. 114, 149, *et seq.*

discovery to his congregation. He and his congregation are bound by the authority of their whole church, in all times and in all countries". . . "the ways of us (Protestants) depend more upon the individual pastor." Three years later he writes to the Catholic Bishop Hussey: "For you I dread the revolutionary tribunal of Drogheda. For the country, if some proper mode of education is not adopted, I tremble for the spread of atheism amongst Catholics . . . Justice, prudence, tenderness, moderation and Christian charity ought to become the measures of tolerance, and not a cold apathy, or indeed rather a savage hatred to all religion and an avowed contempt of all those points on which we differ, and on those about which we agree," and again, "You and I hate Jacobinism as we hate the gates of hell. Why? Because it is a system of oppression.*

The men to whom Burke here alludes were brutal and ignorant oppressors, and their ways were understood by everyone. It is his withering analysis of infidel political philosophers that is most wanted in our times: "These philosophers," he writes, "are fanatics; independent of any interest . . . chiefly dependent for fame and fortune on knowledge and talent . . . Naturally men so formed and finished are the first gifts of Providence to the world. But when they have once thrown off the fear of God, which has been in all ages too often the case, and the fear of man which is now the case, and when in that state they come to understand each other, and to act in corps, a more dreadful calamity cannot arise out of hell to scourge mankind . . . These philosophers consider men in their experiments no more than they do mice in an air pump."†

The French Revolution was mainly the work of *Voltaire*, *Rousseau*, and the *Philosophers*, and some fifty years ago it seemed that the same class, in solemn English guise, were on the way to domination in this country; but, somehow, British common sense seems always wary of politics hatched in the study; neither was it seriously affected by the political prophecies of Carlyle, and Count

* Correspondence, IV., pp. 11, 309, 314, 397.

† Letter to a Noble Lord, 1796, p. 62.

Cavour. The works of Edmund Burke are the great catechism of British imperial common sense, and from his youth he saw that it was a better foundation in politics than either French or Irish genius. I am persuaded than any Catholic priest who, like the present writer, has long been on terms of intimacy with his Protestant fellow-citizens of the working classes, with Burke in his hand, would have little hesitation in facing a discussion with Mr. Lecky himself in an assemblage of British men of action, politicians under forty being excluded. By "working men" I include all who live by bringing ideas to practical conclusions, as distinguished from professional thinkers and compositors of ideas, "independent," as Burke says, "of any interest." The Briton like the Roman, is happy to accept the assistance of honest men of all creeds, and nations, and to give them a share in the good things of the Empire, so long as they pay their taxes, and obey the laws; and so far are we from any signs of jealousy at present, there never was a time when good humour, and cordial union of the Christians of the Empire on political questions was so great. Surely then we have a right to turn on those who with lofty disdain of experience, and promises of perfection in an indefinable future, seek to rob us of the advantages of the present, which is all that we have got in this world; and when we turn upon them we have Burke with us at every step.

When I say that Burke was first a Christian and then a politician, those who are jealous of sacerdotal interference in politics will perhaps say, "Here is a priest making out a case for his own."

And why not, especially with so many strong lay supporters of all denominations on my side? Burke was not a Catholic, and moreover, earnest as he was in his religious opinions and tastes, few men were further removed from the spirit of dogmatic utterances on religious questions. We may say of his religious politics what he himself said of his ideas on liberty, that "very early in his career, being warned by the ill effect of the contrary procedure in great examples, he had taken his ideas of liberty very low, in order that they should stick to him, and

that he might stick to them to the end of his life." By "low ideas of liberty" he meant those fundamental principles from which every form of liberty derived its strength, and whether by design, or from the unity of his mind, his Christian politics took the same form. Hence it was that the sober, the earnest, and the wise in every Christian denomination, and in all lands, have chosen Burke as their friend and adviser. The traditional isolation of Rome, not only in all matters of doctrine, but in all philosophy which in any way touches on doctrine, is one of the reproaches of those who hold that compromises have their place in religion as well as in politics. Burke did not complain that Catholics are "bound by the authority of their whole Church in all times and in all countries,"* he accepted the fact. He could, therefore, appreciate the significance of the letter which in 1793 he received from Pius VI., in which the Sovereign Pontiff spoke with admiration of his *Reflections on the Revolution*, in which, as the Pope says, "he had overthrown, and scattered the doctrines of the new philosophers of France."†

It was against the Catholic Church that the Revolution at this time directed its attacks; later on, and gradually, it told on Protestantism, and it is remarkable that circumstances should have made England the chief intellectual battlefield of the Revolution, and Burke the leader in the conflict. On the Continent, flooded as it was by the armed revolution of France, men had little time for reflection. Never since the days of Atilla and his Huns had Europe witnessed such swift and wide-spread devastation.

At home and abroad, all who gave unqualified adhesion to Burke's political doctrines were men who held, like De Maistre, and Schlegel, that the Christian religion is at once the essential basis of our European civilisation, and the source of all its beauty, order, and harmony. Mr. Morley, in his feeble and rambling attack on Burke's

* Correspondence, IV., p. 13.

† Theiner: *Affaires Religieuses de la France* (1792), p. 199. It does not appear that the letter was made public. The Pope may have understood that in England at that time his approval would have been injurious to the influence of Burke.

Revolution in France, which he dismisses as "a great rhetorical fabric," identifies Burke with his brother "mystic," De Maistre, whom at the same time he rather incongruously describes as "one of the most learned, witty, and acute of all reactionary philosophers;" acuteness is not a characteristic of mystical politicians. De Maistre appears to the frightened gaze of Mr. Morley as a "mystic and a reactionary," because, with Burke, he believed in the "disposition of a stupendous wisdom moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race," in fact, "in a Divinity that shapes our deeds," and "never," continues Mr. Morley "was mysticism more unseasonable."* This mysticism, or, in plain English, belief in God, is always "unseasonable" to rationalists who prefer, as Lord Bacon says, "Like spiders, to spin everything out of their own bowels." But Mr. Morley reaches his climax when, comparing Burke with Sir Thomas More, he describes the saviour of the Constitution, and liberties of England under Tudor tyranny as that "virtuous and eloquent reactionist of the sixteenth century";† he of whom Lord Campbell writes, that he was "three hundred years in advance of his age."‡

De Maistre was Burke's greatest fellow-worker, and, like Burke, his sun has begun to rise again in the pages of writers like M. Guizot, and M. Sainte-Beuve. Born in 1754, he was in his prime in 1790 when the "Reflections" appeared, and a few months later he writes to a friend to express his delight at the manner in which this "rude senator" deals with the "baby legislators" of the National Assembly. "For myself," he says, "I am ravished with it, and cannot express how it has reinforced my anti-democratic and anti-Gallican ideas."§ This is a specimen of the style of this fiery monarchist. Burke was never an enemy of democracy; all that he demanded was that it should know and keep its place, and that the various members of the body politic should give each other honour where

* "Burke," by John Morley, pp. 151, 165.

† *Ibid.* p. 174.

‡ "Lives of the Chancellors."

§ "Correspondance Œuvres Complètes," IX., p. 11.

honour is due, and not repeat the old story, when head, heart, arms and legs revolted against the stomach, which, they said, swallowed up all the fruits of their labours. For all that, De Maistre came nearer to Burke than almost any modern writer in keen perception of the greatness of the British Constitution. He admired it "infinitely," but "in its own place," which, as we shall see, was the idea of Burke. Quoting Pascal, whose *Pensées* he valued as much as he detested *Les Lettres Provinciales*, De Maistre says, "Pascal has very well said that he would have the same horror in destroying liberty where God has placed it, as in introducing it where it has no existence."* De Maistre continues, "When I say that *no sovereignty is limited*, I mean *in its legitimate exercise*. . . . For example, it is said 'In England the sovereignty is limited'; nothing is more false. It is *royalty* which is limited in this famous country. Now, at least in theory, royalty is not all sovereignty. But when the three powers, which in England make up the sovereignty, are agreed, what can they do? With Blackstone we must answer, EVERYTHING. And what, legally, can be done to oppose them? NOTHING.* When De Maistre says that "the English are, without contradiction, the first amongst Protestant nations,"† I presume he means what he expresses elsewhere, when he classifies religions according to the amount of divine truth they retain, and adds the ingenious reflection that, conscious of their strength, superior religions are generally fair in argument with their inferiors.‡ De Maistre's defence of the British Constitution extends like that of Burke to the ancient Constitution of France; and his words on this point will be a good introduction to those of Burke.

"Whosoever wishes," says De Maistre, "to go to the root of this question will find in the monuments of French public law, characteristics and laws which raise France

* Du Pape. Œuvres, II., p. 178.

† "Lettres sur l'Inquisition Espagnole," Œuv. III., p. 356.

‡ From Bossuet to Card. Newman Catholic conversationalists have ever taken opponents on their own valuation.

above all monarchies known to history. One special character of this monarchy consists in the possession of a certain special theocratic element which has secured her fourteen hundred years of duration : there is nothing so national as this element. The bishops, successors of the Druids under this aspect, have only made it perfect.

"I do not think that any other European monarchy has employed for the good of the State a greater number of Pontiffs in the civil government. . . . But while the priesthood in France was one of the three columns which upheld the throne, and while it played so important a part in the assemblies of the nation, in its tribunals, in the ministry, and in embassies, we see little or nothing of its influence in civil administration, and even when a priest was Prime Minister in France, there was no *government by priests*.

"All these influences were fairly balanced and every power in its place. In this point of view it is England which most *resembles* France. If ever she banishes from her political language the words 'Church and State,' her Government, like that of her rival, will perish."*

At the same time, De Maistre was keenly alive to the absurdity of making English ideas the rule of perfection everywhere, with that rage of propagandism which has introduced the revolutionary plague into many countries, as alien to English ideas as to English diet. "You see," he writes, "the invariable theory of the English is, that wherever there is no House of Peers and Commons (that is in all the world, England excepted) you can have nothing but tyrants and slaves. Blackstone, their great juris-consult, has formally placed on the same level the ancient Government of France and that of Turkey."† We shall see that Burke regarded this contempt of nations for one another, and their propaganda of exotic political ideas, as one of the chief fountains of revolution and national disasters. A constitution and liberties

* "Considérations sur la France," *Œuvres*, I., p. 90. M. Guizot, in one of his works, says that "The Bishops were the makers of France."

† Correspondence, XI., p. 321.

which work well in a nation secure from foreign foes, would be fatal to another whose very existence depends on a permanent central power, accepted as absolute on the first signal of invasion; the struggle for national and personal life soon put an end to French dreams of equality, and the armed nations of the earth are now the antidote, and, it may be God's merciful chastisement of the same spirit in our own times.

There are no signs that this state of things is coming to an end; indeed, we may say that the sword is now the universal ruler, since America has abandoned her rule of non-interference, and taken her place with the old warrior nations of Europe. There are some who think that this turning of nations into camps is an absolute evil, but I fancy Burke would say of it, as he did of American insubordination, that it is waste of time to discuss the merits of a state of things over which we have no control; and that our wisdom lies in asking, "What in the name of God we are to do with it?" on the principle that "All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some sights that we may enjoy others; and we choose rather to be happy citizens than subtle disputants. As we must give away some natural liberties to enjoy civil advantages, so we must sacrifice some civil liberties for the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great empire."*

Burke had no sympathy with wars of ostentation. "War," he says, "never leaves where it found a nation;" and again, "It is no excuse for presumptuous ignorance that it is directed by insolent passion. The poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man. But I cannot conceive any existence under heaven (which in the depths of its wisdom tolerates all sorts of things) that is more truly odious and disgusting than an impotent, helpless creature, without civil wisdom

* "Conciliation with America," P. I., p. 222.

or military skill, without a consciousness of any other qualification for power but his servility to it, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight." But for all that he says, "As to war. . . . nothing can banish it from the world. They who say otherwise, intending to impose upon us, do not impose upon themselves. But it is one of the greatest objects of human wisdom to mitigate those evils which we are unable to remove." Moreover, while, with Shakespeare, Burke saw "good in everything," and beauty and dignity in every human vocation, it certainly seems that he agreed with that French writer, who says that men have ever united in honouring the hero after the saint. In his lament over chivalry, which the Revolution had well nigh extinguished in Europe, it is precisely those manly virtues which are the soldier's title deeds to honour, that he contrasts with the reign of "sophisters, economists and calculators." "Never, never more," he says, "shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart which kept alive even in servitude itself the spirit of an exalted freedom. The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the mark of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone! It is gone! that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness."*

"This mixed system of opinion and sentiment had its origin in the ancient chivalry; and the principle, though

* Burke is here speaking, not of vice in itself, but of the protective powers of manners, as when he says, in the "Regicide Peace": "Manners are of more importance than laws. Upon them in a great measure the laws depend. The law touches us here and there, and now and then. Manners are what vex or soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or refine us by a constant, steady, uniform, insensible operation, like that of the air we breathe in. They give their whole form and colour to our lives. According to their quality they aid morals, they supply them, or they totally destroy them." Mr. Payne (p. 363) quotes Massillon in the same sense when he speaks of "Cultivated manners—decorum next door to virtue." Burke was probably familiar with the letters of Madame de Sévigné, Massillon's contemporary, which reveal how at the Court of Louis XIV. "rank infection" was forced to "mine unseen," which was no small blessing to the innocent living in the company of the vicious.

varied in its appearance by the varying state of human affairs, subsisted and influenced through a long succession of generations, even to the time we live in. If it should ever be totally extinguished, the loss, I fear, will be great. It is this which has given its character to modern Europe. It is this which has distinguished it under all its forms of government, and distinguished it, to its advantage, from the States of Asia, and possibly from those States which flourished in the most brilliant periods of the antique world. It was this opinion which mitigated kings into companions and raised private men to be fellows with kings. Without force or opposition it subdued the fierceness of pride and power; it obliged sovereigns to submit to the soft collar of social esteem; compelled stern authority to submit to elegance and gave a dominion vanquished by laws to be subdued by manners Nothing is more certain than that our manners, our civilisation, and all the good things which are connected with manners and with civilisation, have, in this European world of ours, depended for ages upon two principles, and, indeed, were the result of both combined; I mean the spirit of a gentleman and the spirit of religion.”*

In spite of universal suffrage, and the new universal claim of men, women and children, to teach everybody else, the ways by which ideas govern “like the waters, descend from above,” and all those riches of wisdom and eloquence with which Burke has invested chivalry, outraged in the person of the murdered Queen of France, descend to the lowliest homes, and to every relation of social life. When, in a very agony of sorrow and of shame, he said: “Little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leapt from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult,” he seized, with the inspiration of Christian genius on that principle which inspired chivalry, and is now the palladium of our civilisation, and in the person of one woman he vindicated her sex in every land and for all time.

* “Revolution in France,” pp. 89, 92.

In this field we meet that other gigantic antagonist of the Revolution, so unlike Burke in all save his preternatural sagacity. Whatever the causes, and whatever the motives, Napoleon was the sworn foe of immorality in the State. From his youth, as we see from Las Cases, the demon of ambition enabled him to keep more vulgar demons in order, and he obliged his creatures to follow him. He cared little about false opinions in dogma, but he gave no toleration to professors of debauchery. Sydney Smith was mistaken in his estimate of England's *bête noire*, when in 1803, he said of Madame de Staël's *Delphine*, "This dismal trash, which has nearly dislocated the jaws of every critic among us with gaping, has so alarmed Bonaparte that he has seized the whole impression, sent Madame de Staël out of Paris, and, for ought we know, sleeps in a night-cap of steel and dagger-proof blankets. To us it appears rather an attack upon the Ten Commandments, than the government of Bonaparte, and calculated not so much to enforce the rights of the Bourbons, as the benefits of adultery, murder, and a great number of other vices, which have been somehow or other strangely neglected in this country, and too much so (according to the apparent opinion of Madame de Staël) even in France." We have many sayings and doings of Napoleon which prove that he dreaded the immorality of Madame de Staël's six-volume novel more than her politics, and probably were it not for the rough chivalry of the soldier, which he certainly had, he would have treated her like the impure novelist, whom he arrested, declared to be insane, and then shut him up in a madhouse, as he said, "to encourage the others." Many, who, like Carlyle, evidently fear and detest *theocracy* more than the *autocracy* of Napoleon, will agree with Louis Veuillot in his estimate of this mighty *Roi de la Revolution*, who, as the "Scourge of God," and with the arms of destruction partially effected what the wisdom of Burke secured to these countries by the arms of peace and the spirit of preservation.

"In the middle of the last half of the eighteenth century," says the author of *La Guerre et l'Homme de Guerre*, "all Europe was one theatre of scandals. Never

amongst Christians had sovereignty been marked by such an equal and unanimous oblivion of its duties." In the midst of all this, there was one cradle which held the Vengeance of God. On the shores of an inglorious island, there was a child—not of royal, nor even of an illustrious race—a poor child, almost a child of the people, the son of a poor gentleman, and this child God preserved to chastise with his sword the treason of kings, and with his good sense, the pride of literature and of philosophers, to give over the first to his soldiers, second to his police, and by an act of his will to lift up that Church which they congratulated themselves on having overthrown.

The Revolution had its reckoning with Bonaparte and in their turn the monarchies. For fifteen years a tempest of steel and fire went its way through Europe. In those ancient fortunes, either absolutely annihilated or terribly humbled, in that service of ancient kings which crowded the ante-chambers of the king of the revolution, he is blind who will not see the Vengeance of God.*

Even when we pray with the Prophet, "O, thou sword of the Lord, how long wilt thou not be silent; go back to thy scabbard, rest and be still." We can understand how it may be God's will, but in times of falsehood and treachery the sword may be as Burke has told us "the sole means of justice amongst nations." But I believe we may go further and hold, that this terrible blood-letting of nations is the remedy for fevers which otherwise end in death; the fevers of lust, of luxury, and of pride. The millions that followed Napoleon to the field, and the millions that resisted him, were all tried and improved in the furnace. It is civil war and long occupation of a foreign country which corrupt the soldier, as it was with Hannibal at Capua. Napoleon's rapidity and success deprived his wars of war's worst horrors.

Many a student who takes his opinions from Carlyle, and writers of his school, imagines that the prodigious success of the armies of France was the fruit of equality

* "*Mission de Napoleon Bonaparte*," p. 53.

and lawlessness, and that the hardy and industrious peasants whom Napoleon turned into soldiers were pupils of Voltaire and Rousseau, and sons of the women who under the guillotine drank the blood of their victims. Dates are answer enough to this. From the "Reign of Terror" to the Concordat, and the Restoration of Religious Worship, was only six short years, and from that time until Waterloo, the peasants of France who had been brought up under the rule of the Ten Commandments, were the unconscious willing slaves of a despot who gave them glory in exchange for their liberties, a bargain which in all ages men have been prepared to make. Few will deny that the despotism of Napoleon was an improvement on that of Danton, Robespierre, and Carrier, and the 8000 *Bacchantes* who assisted them in their deliberations, and then beneath the guillotine united their shrieks with the *ça ira*, the rolling of drums, and the clashing of cymbals.

Mr. Payne attributes much of Burke's success to his spirit of pure and good-humoured raillery.* Certainly, in addressing an audience such as that in the House of Commons, the gift is great. But its success requires a common ground, common interests, and common principles, and these Burke could always count upon until "the smugglers of adulterated French metaphysics" introduced into these countries new ideas with which neither reason nor raillery could grapple; for it is plain that when the past goes for nothing, then with it disappears history, our own experience and that of others, and everything else with which reason works either to build up or to destroy. In Parliament, up to this time Burke had addressed men with principles like his own, and for nearly a quarter of a century he was in command of the field. But in 1790, when he found the Court, with Pitt and Dundas, contemptuously indifferent, and Fox and Sheridan and his old associates fiercely antagonistic, he turned to the nation, and by his writings carried with him one half of the people, as Wyndham, or three-fourths, as Lord Fitzwilliam declared; and if it is true that Great Britain was a rock on which the Revolution

* "Regicide Peace." Introd. xxv.

was shattered, it is probably to Burke more than to her subsidies and her arms that the victory is to be attributed.

In his "Reflections on the Revolution in France" (1790) and his four Letters on the "Regicide Peace" (1796-97), we find as clear a record of his own work as in his speeches on America, and we also find that the principles on which he founded his denunciations of license were identical with those by which he defended liberty. This was the verdict of Coleridge when converted, and of Erskine *unconverted*; and the latter confessed that Burke's "inveterate consistency" raised him "upon an eminence too high to be approached."* This tribute from an adversary is a specimen of the way in which Burke's mind presented itself to his contemporaries. To Erskine as well as to Johnson it was a very "constellation," with something of the order and unity of the stars, and harmony even in its storms. "Burke," says Coleridge, "was never so great as when he was in a passion." But it required a philosophic mind to perceive this on the part of adversaries who were rudely shaken, and swept away by the tide. In friendly conversation his good humour was still triumphant, as when Pitt, with characteristic temerity, observed, "England is safe until the day of judgment," and Burke answered, "It is the day of *no judgment* that I am afraid of." This went down very well after dinner; but when the *Furia Francese* got upon the Parliamentary brain, both Ministers and Opposition grew violent, when Burke told them that they were "like Mr. Bages's two kings, 'smelling at the same nosegay of nettles,' and going on lovingly, hatingly, the same Jacobin roads," and that "their morals and their politics were those of a girls' boarding school, rather than of men and statesmen;" so Burke withdrew from Parliament and hid himself amid the woods of Beconsfield, where freed from the fierce and noisy interruptions which were then the disgrace of Parliament, he began his still wider reign of politics by the pen.

* "Regicide Peace," p. xxxix., Payne.

Burke started as a writer with a great name. His style was always himself, *vultus animi*, and when country gentlemen in the intervals of the hunt, and London and Bristol merchants when the day was done, took up his writings they heard the old voice again. Like the Germans in our own days, the majority of our ancestors were anything but admirers of French ways, and however Fox and Sheridan might wince, the nation was not at all offended with Burke's contempt for the metaphysical and atheistic statesmen of France with their busy Compositor of Constitutions (Abbé Sièyes), who had his "whole nests of pigeon-holes full of constitutions, ready-made, ticketed, sorted and numbered, suited to every season and every fancy; some with the top of the pattern at the bottom, and some with the bottom at the top; some plain, some flowered, some distinguished for their simplicity; others for their complexity; some of blood colour, some of *boue de Paris*; some with directories, some without a direction; some with councils of elders and councils of youngsters; some without any council at all. Some where the electors choose the representatives; others where the representatives choose the electors."*

As we follow Burke in his exposition, and indictment of the Revolution, we shall see that never for a moment was he betrayed by that dangerous impatience which so often leads rulers and nations to despise and assail liberty when they have been tormented and wounded by its excesses. There are some who hold that while peace abroad is a boon, peace at home means stagnation and corruption, and that a nation's vigour is to be measured by the violence of its party politics. Burke held that civil discord is the way to civil war, and the short civil war in America and the long civil war in Ireland would have been both averted if his wisdom had prevailed.

"In our political system," says Burke, "by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the State, in what we improve, we are never wholly new; in what we retain we

* When Cambacérès said to Napoleon that Sièyes had great depth; "Depth, depth," said Napoleon, "*hollowness*, you mean; that man is hollow as a drum, and has made as much noise in the world with as little cause."

are never wholly obsolete. . . . The *extreme* of liberty (which is its abstract perfection, but its real fault) obtains nowhere, nor ought to obtain anywhere. . . . Liberty must be limited in order to be possessed. The degree of restraint it is impossible in any case to settle precisely. Above all, we cannot be too cautious with those who seek their happiness by other roads than those of humanity, morals, and religion, and whose liberty consists, and consists alone, in being free from those restraints which are imposed by the virtues on the passions. . . . He could not admit the right of any people to do what they pleased, until he first knew what it pleased them to do."

It was thus that Burke prepared the minds of his readers for his defence of the existing institutions of France, then only known in England from the literature of the Revolution. His general principles appealed to the universal reason of man, and they were equally true in the family and in every service and association in which human beings combine with one another for the attainment of an end. But as the State is the most complicated of all associations, and varied as the characters and the interests of those who compose it, the best government is always open to criticism. Burke did not deny that there were abuses in the government of France any more than he denied those in England, but appealing to the hereditary admiration of Englishmen for their constitution, he carried the nation with him when he said, "We have *consecrated* the State, that no man should approach to look into its defects or corruptions but with due caution; that he should never dream of beginning its reformation by its subversion; that he should approach to the faults of the State, as the wounds of a father, with pious awe and trembling solicitude."

This is the language of one who loved his country, his "municipal country," as he called it, for never from the day when he began to think of politics, did he allow that there ought to be any divisions of interest in the two islands, and the three kingdoms. No one who reads Burke thoughtfully can fail to see that it was his genuine and conquering love of country which was the secret of his power over all parties; eloquence can carry an election, or

hurry a nation into war, but to genuine love alone is given a nation's voluntary allegiance and the enduring inheritance of her gratitude. Even amongst the young and fiery spirits who followed Fox and Sheridan, many learned wisdom with years and experience, and lived to bless the monitor who had saved them from the fate of France. Even when most fiercely antagonistic, they continued to read and admire Burke. It is no uncommon thing to find people who believe in spiritual medicines, but prefer the disease. Many an atheist in his own family is more than content that his wife and children should govern their lives by the principles of Christianity,* and many an eloquent advocate of *Le Contrat Social* and the "Rights of Man" is far from desiring that such laws should be brought to bear upon himself. With all the fertility of his genius, Burke laid bare the suicidal absurdities of equality and communism, which levelling mountains robs the world of its variety and its prizes, and, casting all men in the same mould, reduces them to the ignoble condition of sheep in a paddock, and, moreover, sheep without a shepherd, as such an official is forbidden by equality.

Burke was first a moralist and then a politician, and this was the secret of his power. Despots like Nero found that human nature was too much for them, and it was because Louis XIV. and Napoleon were careful and philosophic students of the minds and hearts of men that they escaped assassination.† Burke's life was one long struggle with what he styled the "epidemical fanaticism" of mobs in Parliament, as well as on the hustings, which, he says, "Of all things wisdom is the most terrified, because of all enemies it is that against which she is least able to furnish any kind of resource." He said that under the reign of the Revolution, fear of the people led to flattery, and that "flattery corrupts both receiver and giver, and adulation is not of more service to the people than to kings." "I am accused, I am told abroad, of being a man of aristocratic

* Diderot is said to have taken charge of her little daughter on her way to the Catechism at St. Sulpice.

† "The Government of the Grand Seigneur is the best," said Louis XIV. to Marshal d'Estrées. "Yes," said the Marshal, "but I have known three Sultans strangled in my time."

principles. If by aristocracy they mean the Peers . . . I hold their order in cold and decent respect. I hold them to be of absolute necessity in the Constitution ; but I think they are only good when kept in their proper bounds . . . I have incurred the odium of gentlemen in this House for not paying sufficient regard to men of ample property. When, indeed, the smallest rights of the poorest people in the kingdom are in question I would set my face against any act of pride and power countenanced by the highest that are in it ; and if it should come to the last extremity, and to a contest of blood, God forbid ! God forbid ! my part is taken ; I would take my fate with the poor, and low, and feeble." And then comes one of those provisoes with which Burke ever taught moderation and wisdom : " But if these people came to turn their liberty into a cloak for maliciousness, and to seek a privilege of exemption, not from power, but from the rules of morality and virtuous discipline, then I would join my hand to make them feel the force, which a few, united in a good cause, have over a multitude of the profligate and ferocious."*

Burke was an aristocrat by principle, and so is every corporal, and master tradesman in France, as well as in England, and this simply on Shakespeare's principle, that " If two ride a horse one must ride behind," and because he was himself impressed with the conviction that place is not happiness, and that it is only one, and not at all the greatest evidence of dignity ; the Queen is still herself when her coachman holds the reins and goes first.

He boldly asserted that it was the rich and the rulers of the State who " are under an absolute, hereditary, and indefeasible dependence on those who labour and are miscalled the poor. The labouring people are only poor because they are numerous. Numbers in their nature imply poverty. In a fair distribution among a vast multitude, none can have much. That class of dependent pensioners called the rich is so extremely small, that if all their throats were cut and a distribution made of all they consume in the year, it would not give a bit of bread and

* Speech on the Marriage Act, 1781. Works, X., p. 138.

cheese for one night's supper to those who labour and who in reality feed both the pensioners and themselves."

"But the throats of the rich ought not to be cut, nor their magazines plundered; because in their persons they are trustees for those who labour, and their hoards are the banking houses of these latter. Whether they mean it or not, they do, in effect, execute their trust, some with more, some with less fidelity and judgment. But on the whole the duty is performed, and everything returns, deducting some very trifling commission and discount, to the place from whence it arose. When the poor rise to destroy the rich, they act as wisely for their own purposes, as when they burn mills and throw corn into the river, to make bread cheap."*

Burke had twice visited, and carefully studied France and her people, and his evidence is worth more than all the frantic exaggerations of the advocates of destruction; "an enemy," he says, "is a bad witness; a robber is a worse," and time has proved that French speculators in destruction were the enemies, as well as the robbers of their fatherland.

Burke held that justice is due to governments as well as to subjects. "To hear some men talk of the late monarchy of France, you would imagine that they were talking of Persia bleeding under the ferocious sword of Tæhmas Kouli Khân, or at least describing the barbarous anarchy of Turkey, when the finest countries in the most genial climates in the world are wasted by peace more than any countries have been worried by war;" and then he asks, "Was this the case of France?" In another place he answers, "In these old countries, the State has been made

* "Thoughts on Scarcity," Works, VII., p. 376. "For this think I in my mind a very sure conclusion, that if all the money that is in this country were to-morrow next brought together out of every man's hand . . . divided out to every man alike, it would be on the morrow after worse than it was the day before. . . . Every man cannot have a ship of his own, nor every man be a merchant without stock. . . . Some man that hath but two ducats in his house, were better forbear them both, and leave himself not a farthing, but utterly lose all his own, than that some rich man, by whom he is weekly set a work, should of his money lose the one half: for then were himself like to lack work. For surely the rich man's substance is the well-spring of the poor man's living" (Sir Thomas More, "Dialogue of Comfort," p. 184).

to the people, and not the people conformed to the State. . . This comprehensive scheme virtually produced a degree of personal liberty in forms the most adverse to it. That liberty was formed under monarchs styled absolute in a degree unknown to the ancient commonwealths."*

It is easy with Mr. Morley to paint sensational pictures of the sufferings of the poor in France; but it would not be difficult to produce companion pictures drawn from English life, to say nothing of Ireland. There was little to choose between the "Lyons' silk weaver" and men, women and children in English mines and mills, and the English peasant with landlord, good, bad, and indifferent, had not a much better political status than "the forty thousand serfs in the gorges of the Jura, who were held in dead-hand by the Bishop of Saint-Claude."† The professional assailants of the upper classes had it all their own way in France; but for all that I do not find any records of deaths from starvation whatever the taxes may have been, and starvation is the final test of poverty.‡

In 1837, nearly forty years after Burke's "Reflections," Carlyle wrote what he styled "The History of the French Revolution," and it would be hard to find two works which bring out more vividly the contrast between the conscientious and the immoral treatment of history. No doubt, Carlyle would say that his was a conscientious work; but his words to his wife reveal how he wrote history: "You have not had," he said, "for a hundred years, any book that came more direct and flamingly from the heart of a living man."§ It is vain to expect absolute impartiality from historians, but, in so far as they depart from it, in the same degree are their histories either absurd or vicious. If Carlyle came

* Mr. Payne quotes Bolingbroke, and Gibbon in the same sense "that the spirit of freedom breathes throughout the feudal institutions." "Regicide Peace Notes," p. 338.

† Morley's "Burke," pp. 161-62.

‡ In his very temperate and careful "History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847," The Revd. John O'Rourke gives the comparative census of 1841 and 1857, and the number of emigrants, from which it appears "that 1,039,552 must have died of starvation and its concomitant epidemics" to which must be added "death which occurred amongst famine emigrants in excess of the percentage of deaths among ordinary emigrants," p. 496. Dublin: Gill, 1875.

§ "Dict. of Univ. Biography," Art. Carlyle, p. 119.

forward as the open and honest advocate of Revolution, then he might have "flamed" to his heart's content, and we should take the advocate at what he is worth. But as it stands, his work is neither history, nor apology; not history, because it only gives one side; not apology, because Carlyle never excused anything which triumphed even for the moment. "Carlyle," says his biographer Mr. Froude, "was often taunted—once I think by Mr. Lecky—with believing in nothing but the divine right of strength. To me, as I read him, he seems to say on the contrary, that, as the universe is constructed it is right, only that it is 'strong;'"* where the "contrary" is here, I must leave to the critical reader. Mr. Froude would be nearer the truth if he said that right and wrong to Carlyle were "as you like it," and primarily as Carlyle liked it.

Carlyle's influence has gone never to return, but the wounds he has inflicted on the moral sense in English-speaking nations remain. He had learned from Voltaire that all characters, if not vulnerable in themselves, can be made so by the historian who selects and paints, conscious that not one in a hundred of his readers either knows, or cares to know the truth. It would be waste of time, or rather, time could not bear the strain, were we to attempt to answer Carlyle's indictment of the King and Constitution of France. His "French Revolution" has all that power and variety which genius gives to ignorance, and, indeed, the best answer is to be found in his subsequent writings, when he went over to "Aristocracy," which he declared to be the "best of English classes"†, and set to work in his "Cromwell" and "Frederick of Prussia," to teach the world the nature of perfect authority, which in his pages is—if possible—more hideous than his ideals of liberty.

We see as clearly from Carlyle as from Burke that hatred of the wealthy classes was only the foam on the wave of the Revolution. It was from the depths of Voltarian hatred of the authority of God that the tide rose. The Parisian mob had no objection to luxury, all they wanted was that it

* "Life," by J. A. Froude, I., p. 422.

† "Reminiscences of Carlyle," J. A. Froude, II., p. 190.

should change hands. Carlyle describes how things "arranged themselves" in 1795, one short year after the "Terror." "Confused wreck of a Republic of the Poverties, which ended in reign of terror, is arranging itself into such composure as it can. Evangel of Jean-Jacques, and most other Evangel, becoming incredible, what is there for it but return to the old Evangel of Mammon? *Contrat Social* is true or untrue; brotherhood is brotherhood or death; but money always will buy money's worth; in the wreck of human dubitations, this remains indubitable, that pleasure is pleasant. Aristocracy of feudal parchment has passed away with a mighty rushing, and now, by a natural course, we arrive at aristocracy of the money-bag.* And then follow fierce invectives against "Mammon, basest of known Gods—even of known devils," which admirers of the Revolution take with great equanimity from Carlyle, understanding that God and the devil are one and the same in his pages; the French Revolution itself he defines to be "truth clad in hell-fire."† An indictment of Carlyle is an indictment of the Revolution and of that school of writers, unhappily still surviving, who revel in visions of horror and blood, like the Roman populace in the days when Nero led the fashion and supplied the food.

The extract I have given is a fair specimen of Carlyle's "History," from the first page to the last. Shallow and cynical, he amuses his readers with what Ruskin calls "Visits of frenzy and pollutions of plague." Without a sign of human sympathy he describes the drowning (Noyades) at Nantes: "And young children were thrown in, their mothers vainly pleading; 'Wolfings' answered the company of Marat, 'they would grow to be wolves.' . . . "Lebon, at Arras, dashes his sword into the flood flowing from the guillotine, exclaims, 'How I like it.' Mothers, they say, by his order, have to stand by while the guillotine devours their children; a band of music is stationed near, and at the fall of every head strikes up its *ça ira*. . . . *Tigresse nationale*: Meddle not with a whisker of her! Swift-rendering is her stroke; look

* "The French Revolution," A History, Vol. II., p. 370.

† "The Worship of Heroes," p. 380.

what a paw she spreads; pity has not entered into her heart."*

It is not necessary to answer Carlyle. There is nothing in his book on which any conscientious writer has ever tried to base a serious argument. On one point alone he is consistent, and that is in his scorn and hatred of Christianity, as represented by the Church in France. "Out upon you," he says, "Priests of Beelzebub and Moloch," etc., and then in his most lively style he tells how "Patriotism, put its horny paw" on thirty priests, or in plain English, murdered them before trial, and on the way to prison.

It was the shame of England fifty years ago that such writing as this was popular. It was a time when anti-Catholic bigotry was red hot, and it was punished, as is always the case, with its own "poisoned chalice." Edmund Burke had warned his co-religionists that in the blind fury of their assaults on Catholics, they were subverting the principles on which their own religion, and Christianity itself were founded; and even in his time, and while the horizon was red with the Revolution, many, perhaps the majority in these islands, listened and grew wise like Wordsworth when he wrote:

". . . Deeds
Which now as infamous, I should abhor—
Despise as senseless: for my spirit relished
Strangely the exasperation of that Land,
Which turned an angry beak against the down
Of her own breast: confounded into hope
Of disencumbering thus her fretful wings."†

Many revolutions, on a small scale, have been as "infamous" and "senseless" as that of France; but none have taught such lessons to mankind—lessons which the wise and good, until the end of time, will seek and find in the writings of Edmund Burke.

W. B. MORRIS.

* "French Revolution," II., p. 298. *Ibid.*, II., p. 146.

† "The Excursion," Book III.

ART. IV.—A RUSSIAN CHAMPION OF THE CHURCH.

Tserkovnoe Predanie i Russkaya Bogoslovskaya Literatura. Kriticheskoe Sopostavlenie (Po povodu Kritiki na Knigu "O Tserkvi.")

[“Ecclesiastical Tradition and Russian Theological Literature.”]

Freiburg-im-Breisgau : HERDER. 8vo. Pp. 584. 1898.

IN spite of some occasional aberrations, a certain order and continuity may be discerned in the main current of theological controversy. The heresies of the first ages arose from the errors of individuals, or from some mistaken method or dangerous tendency in the various local schools. And these apparently accidental and independent causes furnished the matter for patristic exposition, and the definitions of the General Councils. This might seem to leave little scope for order and unity. Yet it will be found that, in the main, there is generally some one great doctrine which in each age forms the central subject of discussion. Other questions may, indeed, be mooted, but these cannot be mistaken for the main objective, which is assailed by the heretics and defended by the Fathers. And what is more, these dogmas, for the most part, come before us in something like their natural order ; so that the history of the controversies of succeeding ages bears some resemblance to an ordered and continuous course of theology. Thus, the third and fourth centuries furnish a voluminous treatise on the Trinity, while those which follow are devoted to the doctrine of the Incarnation, with which the question of grace is fitly connected. It is true that the controversies of more recent times are mainly occupied with subjects which would take a somewhat different place in a course of theological studies. But

further reflection will show that, even in this, the due order is followed.

The mind of man naturally begins with direct perception of outward objects. It may then proceed to reflect upon its own acts, and on the powers to which they owe their origin. But before this can be done, those powers must first be exercised. In much the same way, we may well expect to find the Church first exerting her various powers, and then proceeding to reflect upon them. Apostles preach and convert the nations, and the doctrines which they deliver to mankind become the subject of inquiry and speculation. Popes and Bishops and Councils condemn such errors as arise, and dogmas are defined and defended. But in this, the attention of all is occupied with the subject matter of Revelation, the great fundamental mysteries of the Faith. The various channels through which the Revelation is delivered, and the authority of those to whose care it is committed, are accepted from the first, though as yet they are not submitted to any close scrutiny or analysis. But, eventually, there comes a time of reflection and introspection, when these instruments and sources of religious knowledge become themselves the direct subject of discussion. New heresies arise, and various opinions are mooted concerning the respective authority, and the mutual relations of Faith and Reason, of Scripture and Tradition, and the powers and prerogatives of Popes, and Bishops, and Councils.

Broadly speaking, this is the ground of the great controversy which has been proceeding for the last three centuries. Errors on other points were, indeed, among the main motives of the Lutheran revolution, and these furnished the subject of the first discussions between the reformer and his antagonists. But before long the two sides joined issue on the fundamental question of Church authority. Sylvester Prierias begins his dialogue on Luther's Theses against Indulgences, with an apparently irrelevant assertion of the Catholic doctrine on the constitution of the Church and the authority of the Roman Pontiff. But in truth, though the reformer dismissed the matter somewhat disdainfully in his rejoinder,

the Dominican theologian had instinctively grasped the key of the position.* It was here, and not on the narrow issue of Indulgences or Justification, that the great question must be decided. This may be seen in the writings of later controversialists like Bellarmine and Stapleton. And after the long Gallican interlude and the storms of the Revolution, the Catholic forces rallied under the old war-cry, which was sounded with a new vigour by a champion of our own century. Needless to say, the struggle was marked by many changes of fortune. But at least one enduring result was attained in the Vatican Definitions. At the outset of the controversy, the Catholic doctrine was clearly stated, and its main arguments were ably set forth by such worthy champions as Pole and Bellarmine. And much of the work then done still has its value. Nor have more recent writers found much to correct in Ballerini's vindication of Papal authority in the last century. At the same time, there is no lack of work for fresh labourers. Historical science and patristic studies have made great and rapid strides in the present century; and as a result, not a few significant facts are seen in a new light, fresh difficulties remain to be encountered, and other arguments are now available. Moreover, the influence of modern methods of research, and the revival of interest in the ancient records, naturally tend to bring the historical aspect of the question into greater prominence.

In that great work, which was the chief literary outcome of the Oxford movement, Cardinal Newman has brought together in one pregnant passage all the more important Anti-Nicene testimonies in support of Papal authority.† And in illustration of what has been said above, we may observe that, in almost every instance, that authority is taken for granted or manifested in its active exercise—not

* The Dialogue of Sylvester is printed at length in the first volume of Luther's Latin works, Jena, 1564.

† See the introduction to "An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine" (p. 22). "With such evidence, the Anti-Nicene testimonies which may be cited in behalf of the Holy See, need not fear a comparison. Faint they may be, one by one, but at least they are various, and are drawn from many times and countries, and thereby serve to illustrate each other, and form a body of proof." And he goes on to cite the cases of St. Clement, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, Marcion, the Montanists, Praxeas, etc.

maintained as a theory or made the subject of discussion. This, as we have said, is a reflective stage which belongs to a later century.

In the evidence thus brought together, and in some later pages in the same work, dealing with the Pope's position in the time of the Nestorian and Eutychian troubles, we have before us the text and general ground of subsequent controversies. Fresh labourers have come into the field, and have treated each one of these topics with greater abundance of detail, bringing out their full meaning, and meeting the questions and objections of opponents. Among these, it will be enough to mention one such writer whom we have lately lost, Dr. Luke Rivington. From the first publication in which he set forth the reasons of his conversion to Catholicism, down to the great work at which he was still labouring at the time of his death, his untiring literary energy was devoted to the task of vindicating the supremacy and authority of the Holy See, firmly establishing it on the basis of ancient evidence, and meeting the objections raised by Anglican writers.

In most of these various controversial writings, there is doubtless much that is occasional and ephemeral, and much again that is purely personal. Yet when we come to compare them together, and take a broad survey of Catholic apologetic literature during the past century, we find that all are but the various factors in a large and lasting movement. And this conclusion is further strengthened, when it is seen that the same forms of literature, and the same phases of the controversy appear, independently of each other, in widely different places. Thus, the revival of patristic studies which was one of the main factors in the Tractarian movement, was by no means confined to Oxford or to England. For the lives and writings of these champions of the ancient Church were at the same time attracting special attention on the Continent, and much labour was being spent on critical editions, vernacular versions, and studies in patrology. This was especially the case in France and Germany, ever in the front rank in matters of scholarship, but the same forces made themselves felt in regions further North,

and the authorities in St. Petersburg showed a new zeal in putting forth Russian and Church-Slavonic versions of the writings of the early Fathers.

The book before us furnishes a fresh illustration of this cosmopolitan character of Catholic controversy. For here we have a Russian work, that is in many ways a curious counterpart to Dr. Rivington's apologetic writings, more especially his foremost production, "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter." Nor is this resemblance confined to the Russian and English books, considered apart and in themselves, for there is much that is analogous in the circumstances to which they owe their origin. Father Rivington's recent publications were serious studies in Church history, and careful expositions of Catholic teaching; yet their purpose was to some extent polemical, for they were the outcome of a continuous controversy with some eminent Anglican apologists. Even in those pages which are mainly devoted to historical narrative or doctrinal exposition, the writer is often engaged in meeting the arguments of his opponents or in making some rejoinder to their criticisms on his earlier writings. Now, the present Russian work is the outcome, and in some respects the conclusion, of a somewhat similar controversy, the echoes of which have scarcely reached us in England. And possibly some account of its occasion, and of its main contents, may not be unwelcome to our readers.

In the year 1888 an anonymous defence of Catholicism was published at Berlin in the Russian language, under the title "O Tserkvi: Istoritcheskii Otcherk" ("On the Church; an Historic Sketch.") What may have been its merits as a piece of polemical literature, or whether it bore any fruits in conversions to Catholicism, we have no means of saying; but it certainly says something for this unknown protagonist of the Holy See, that more than one eminent Russian writer thought it necessary to take the field against him. Thus, Professor Katanski, of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, wrote a critique in the pages of the *Tserkovni Vestnik*, which subsequently appeared in pamphlet form, and Professor Belyaëff, of

the Kazan Academy, devoted a whole book to the demolition of the Catholic apology.* Much the same controversial ground was covered by two other volumes of Eastern Orthodoxy, Lebedeff's work "On the Headship of the Pope," and Sushkoff's more aggressive treatise "Against the False Doctrine of the Universal Headship of the Roman Church."† In this way, a considerable body of anti-Papal Russian theology had come into existence, mainly occupied with those historical and patristic topics, which formed the chief ground of discussion between Dr. Rivington and his Anglican opponents. The book before us is an exhaustive reply on the whole controversy, by another nameless Catholic champion. The writer, as we regret to learn, is now dead, but he had happily left his book in a state which allowed of its posthumous publication.

With those earlier works which indirectly led to the appearance of the present volume, we are not now concerned. We are not in a position to judge them on their own merits; and we would not trouble our readers with any criticism at second-hand. For the same reason we do not propose to treat the present volume itself in its character as a critique or a controversial rejoinder. Nor need we dwell upon the author's estimate of the treatise on the Church, or ask how far his own work is an effective reply to the various publications of the Russian writers. To answer these questions to our own satisfaction, we must have the whole literature of the controversy before us. But a work of this nature is, happily, something more than a mere piece of criticism or controversy. Whatever may have been his purpose in undertaking the task, and whatever the merits of his opponents, our author has certainly made a serious study of the evidence on many important questions, and the result of his labour has its own value as a contribution to Church history and positive theology. If we may use the language of Parliamentary

* *O Katolitsisme, Krititcheskia Zametki po povodu Apologii Papstva O Tserkvi*, St. Petersburg, 1889.

† "*O Glavenstve Papi*," St. Petersburg, 1887. "*Protiff Lzheutcheniya o Vselenskom Glavenstve Rimskoy Tserkvi*," St. Petersburg, 1890.

procedure, what was originally moved as an amendment, may now be treated as a substantive motion.

The reader who comes to the present work fresh from the fields of Anglo-Roman controversy, will meet with many familiar topics, and not a few arguments and authorities, that have often enough done duty in our own theological discussions. Yet it is, to say the least, possible that some of these very points may be set in a clearer light, or grasped more fairly, when they have been regarded from the standpoint of Russian theologians. In these matters, there is generally some danger of substituting words for ideas, or the mind may be straitened by fashions of thought, or by the use of stock arguments and conventional phrases. Hence there may be some advantage in having familiar topics treated in a new fashion, and in a strange language. There is, we may add, a further reason for satisfaction in the fact that the book is written in what is now the chief speech of Oriental Orthodoxy. For this able defence of Catholic doctrine is thereby brought within the reach of the great majority of our separated Eastern brethren. It is true this result might be obtained, in some measure at least, by the process of translation, and not a few Western works of doctrine or controversy have thus been rendered into some of the Eastern languages.

Here, however, it is clear that we have no mere foreign work disguised in a Russian garb, but a genuine native production. If we may so express it, not only the surface of the book but its very substance is Russian. It would indeed be hardly possible for an English critic to decide the author's nationality by the native purity of the language; and in any case, the quality of the Russian might be due to a translator or editor. But a careful reader may find some features in the work before us, which are enough to show that it was written by one whose New Testament was not the Greek or the Vulgate, but the Church-Slavonic. Thus, in one place, we find the author arguing that in Acts ix. 26., the word "Apostles" would not be in the plural, if only Peter and James were in question; for the Evangelist in that case would have used the dual number,

if he did not mention them by name.* This would certainly be a strange blunder on the part of a writer familiar with the Greek Testament, wherein the dual is conspicuous only by its absence. But the argument is one which might naturally occur to a reader accustomed to the Church-Slavonic Bible. For, there, the dual is used with a regularity which has no parallel in the Greek of the classic period.† Much the same may be said of the effective quotation with which our author brings his volume to a conclusion. In an eloquent and pathetic peroration, he vindicates the sincerity of the Catholic apologist, who had, it seems, been rather rudely handled by one of the Orthodox controversialists, and accused of shedding "crocodile tears." The writer in question is reminded that, "to judge whether man's tears are sincere or no, belongs only to Him, Who has promised to comfort them that mourn, and to fill them that hunger and thirst after justice." The word which thus closes the volume has a special force and fitness in the Russian or Slavonic, which is lost or obscured in any other version. "Pravda" means "truth" as well as right or justice. And it is truth, rather than righteousness, that the convert seeks with eager yearning, and the apologist labours in its vindication. Truth is surely the fittest word to close and crown the volume. And we may well believe that this final quotation was chosen by one who not only wrote but also thought in Russian.

Another token of the author's nationality may perhaps be seen in the good use which he makes of the Slavonic Liturgy, and his intimate acquaintance with Russian theological literature.

The anonymous editor of the present volume tells us that the author's manuscript was without a title; and he has accordingly supplied the omission. The title selected is

* "Eslibi v Ierusalime deistvitelno ne bilo nikogo iz Apostoloff, krome Iakova i Petra, to Evangelist ne upotrebil bi v dannom sluchae mnozhestvennago tchisla, ne napisal bi προς τους αποστολους, a upotrebil bi dvoystvennoe tchislo—προς τω αποστολω, ili zhe ne zval bi ich po imeni." p. 465.

† The reader may be referred to such passages as John i. 37, Luke xxiv. 13, etc.

somewhat lengthy, but it has the advantage of giving a sufficiently accurate description of the volume. The reader is further enabled to gather some notion of the general purport of the book from the brief table of contents, which sets forth the main topics treated in each of the six chapters into which it is divided. It could be wished that the author, or his editor, had seen the advantage of a somewhat more minute method of division. For each one of these lengthy chapters might well be separated into two or three of smaller dimensions. The titles might then give in each case some simple subject, instead of a long list of diverse and unconnected topics. Thus, in the second chapter we have among other matters, the affair of Apiarius, the Antiochene schism, the relations of Zosimus and Pelagius, and the vexed question of Liberius.

The order in which the various subjects are taken is, in part at least, chronological, but the author is somewhat hampered by the complex nature of the task before him. For on the one hand he has to deal with a series of kindred questions, which have a natural order of their own, and on the other hand, there is the necessity of meeting in turn each one of his antagonists. As may be gathered from what has been said so far, the author is largely occupied with the evidence of the early Fathers and the Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. At the same time, he does not neglect the scriptural arguments for the prerogatives of St. Peter. Thus, we find several pages devoted to the discussion of the classic text Matthew xvi. 18. Here, Professor Belyaëff's criticisms on the Catholic apologist give rise to a skirmish on the field of philology, and the pages are bestrewn with "rocks" and "stones"—in various languages. It may be of interest to notice one fact mentioned by our author. In some Russian Testaments, issued by authority of the Holy Synod, the name Peter in Matthew xvi. 18, is explained in a footnote by the Russian word "*Kamen*" (rock). We have a somewhat similar instance in another edition now before us. In John i. 42, "*Kamen*" is put in place of Peter, and the latter word is added in brackets. As we need hardly say, the whole point of Matthew xvi. 18, consists in the

identity of "rock" and "Peter." And the full force of the passage is best seen in the Syriac, wherein the same word is repeated, as would be done also in the kindred dialect in which the promise was originally uttered.

In connection with this question, we may notice another matter, wherein something depends on a disputed rendering—the classic passage in St. Irenæus, *Adversus Hæreses* iii., 3. "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorē principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, etc." In the course of the discussion, our author cites these words from the Moscow edition of "St. Irenæus." The Russian translator, it seems, takes the disputed "convenire ad" in the sense of "agree with."*

It might be expected that a Russian writer would show some familiarity with the works of the Eastern Fathers. And we are not surprised to find many pages devoted to the consideration of the evidence of St. John Chrysostom, or the difficulties drawn from certain passages in his sermons. But our author is clearly not less familiar with the chief Latin Fathers, and he makes good use of their writings. In one place, the testimony of St. Leo comes with greater effect, by reason of a singular slip on the part of one of the Orthodox controversialists, who has apparently mistaken the origin of a quotation in the book "On the Church," for an original utterance of the Catholic apologist. (See p. 7.) This may well be regarded as a striking testimony to the fact that the early Fathers, and our modern theologians, hold the self-same language. At the close of the book, the author assures the Orthodox professor of the apologist's gratitude for this unconscious compliment.

As we have said, the present volume naturally invites comparison with the writings of Father Rivington, whose excellent work in the field of historical controversy is doubtless familiar to most of our readers. A considerable part of that work was first published in this REVIEW; while the rest was duly appreciated in these pages by other writers. Among the various topics which he treated in

* "S. Rimskoy Tserkovyu, dolzhni soglasovatsya vse Tserkvi po visokoy i preimushtchestvennoy vazhnosti eya," p. 54.

the course of his controversies, there was one region of Church history which he had in a manner made his own—the story of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. He had treated this subject at some length in his work on “The Primitive Church and the See of Peter.” And as our readers may remember, he returned to it afresh in an article in these pages. Not content with this, he devoted a separate volume to a more detailed and exhaustive consideration of this important episode in early ecclesiastical history.*

Naturally enough, the discussion of such topics in the book before us is cast on a somewhat smaller scale. And the reader cannot well look for that full and exhaustive treatment which belongs to a monograph on the subject, or a special history of the period. None the less, there is a curious similarity between the general methods of the Russian and English champions of Catholicism. In both, we find the same careful examination of the facts, the same keen insight into their real significance, the same candid acknowledgment of difficulties; and a like courteous treatment of opponents. It may seem a fortunate coincidence that, whereas Father Rivington spent his best labour on the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, our Russian author has dealt in like successful fashion with the problems presented by the next stage of Church history, and the controversies connected with the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils. If we had to single out one particular portion of the book before us, as the happiest example of the author's method and workmanship, we should be inclined to select the lengthy chapter devoted to those vexed questions of theological controversy—the case of the “Three Chapters,” and the condemnation of Pope Honorius. This same section, we may add, is also an instance of the defective division of the volume. For as the discussion of each of these separate subjects fills some fifty pages, there seems little reason for treating them in one chapter.

* “The Roman Primacy, A.D. 430—451.” By the Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A., D.D. Longmans, Green and Co., 1899. This book, as will be remembered, was published within a few weeks of the author's untimely death.

The fifty pages which are occupied with the question of the "Three Chapters" seem to be worthy of special notice, both as a careful summary of a curious piece of Church history, and as an able explanation of the Pope's attitude in the controversy. It would perhaps be too much to say that the narrative is quite clear, or the arguments absolutely convincing, or that the whole is calculated to give the reader a satisfactory impression. But this, let us hasten to add, is no reflection on the praiseworthy efforts of the Russian writer. For, in truth, the story itself is so strangely complex, and the relations of the various orthodox and heretical parties so hopelessly involved, that the facts are scarcely susceptible of a perfectly luminous statement. And, here, a writer who tells a plain tale may well be regarded with some suspicion. For a faithful picture of the facts as they stand in the authentic records of the time can hardly fail to reflect somewhat of their native obscurity and confusion. And as the verdict must depend on the quality of the available evidence, the historian's estimate of the chief actors in the struggle cannot well be clear cut and definite, or lay any claim to a general acceptance. These characteristics, indeed, belong to the final decisions of the Pope and the Council, but to little else in this painful and perplexing story.

But though the author has not achieved the impossible task of dissipating the darkness which surrounds the Fifth Council, he has, at least, done something to relieve it, and to set the main facts fairly before his readers. And if he cannot be said to have furnished a full vindication of the vacillating Vigilius, he has rightly made the most of the extenuating circumstances, and provided a plausible explanation of much that would else be unintelligible.

The greater part of the pages devoted to the case of the "Three Chapters" is very wisely confined to a narrative of facts, and the theological argument is treated with commendable brevity. For some time, indeed, the reader might well believe that the work before him was one of pure history, undisturbed by the cross-currents of the controversy on Church authority. And it is only when he has been enabled to grasp the whole situation in that

stormy period, that he is led on to the consideration of its theological significance. A different course would possibly give greater scope for fine writing and ingenious argumentation, but if the end in view is the knowledge of the truth, our author has surely chosen the best and wisest method. After all, the issue must be decided by the light of the evidence, not by rhetoric or reasoning, and it is only when a reader has been put in possession of the facts, that the real value of the arguments can be properly appreciated.

This is true in a special manner in regard to the story of the Second Council of Constantinople. In other and simpler matters, it is sometimes enough to confine our attention to the doctrine defined, or the error which is the subject of condemnation. These can for the most part be understood without any curious examination of the general history of the period, and the position of parties in ecclesiastical politics. Such minor matters have their interest for the historian and the antiquarian, but do not affect our judgment on the main question. It is otherwise with the struggle which raged round the Fifth Council. Here, if we may so express it, the accidental circumstances are of more moment than the documents, that were the ostensible subject of the whole discussion. When we find a Council engaged in the condemnation of certain works of Theodore and Theodoret and a letter of Ibas of Edessa, it might be supposed that the question at issue was the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of these incriminated writings, and the strenuous opponents of the condemnation might be supposed to hold, or at least to favour, the doctrine contained in these "Three Chapters." Such was indeed the case with some of the defenders, for their ranks were swelled by the broken remnant of the Nestorian party; and on the other hand, the advocates of the condemnation included a large number of orthodox divines, who were only anxious to stamp out the smouldering fires of that deadly heresy. Had the struggle been confined to these Catholic assailants and Nestorian champions of the "Three Chapters," the orthodoxy of these documents would have been the only point at issue, but,

as we need hardly remind the reader, the question was complicated by the presence of two other very different parties—Catholics who opposed, and heretics who supported the proposed condemnation.

The position taken up by the former party is sufficiently intelligible, and by no means exceptional. A measure which is just in itself, may yet be indirectly productive of evil, and it will often happen that some who have no sympathy with rash and erroneous writings, are opposed to a condemnation which, however deserved, seems likely on the whole to do more harm than good. In the same way, the definition of a doctrine may meet with strenuous opposition from men who admit its truth, but, rightly or wrongly, apprehend some indirect consequence, which renders the decision inopportune at a particular crisis. But there was a further complication peculiar to the case of the "Three Chapters." Here, besides the Catholic party which objected to the condemnation, lest it should tend to weaken the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, there was on the other side a powerful party which sought the condemnation for this very purpose. These were no mere camp-followers, but formed one of the most important factors in the movement against Theodore and his fellows. If the Catholic advocates of the proposed condemnation had reasons to fear that its rejection would tend to revive, or favour, the tenets of the Nestorians, others no less orthodox in their own belief could point to a danger which was threatened from the opposite quarter, the younger and more vigorous heresy of the Monophysites. Strong in the support of a fanatical populace, and sheltered by the Eastern Emperor, the new faction might well seem a more formidable enemy than its rival. It was but a few years since the notable triumph of the Monophysites in the Robber Synod of Ephesus, when but for the intervention of Pope Leo and the opportune accession of a Catholic sovereign, the heresy seemed likely to get possession of the Eastern Churches. As Cardinal Newman has told us in well-known words, the Latrocinium was to all appearance not less representative and unanimous than many Councils acknowledged as Ecumenical. "If the East could deter-

mine a matter of Faith independently of the West, certainly the Monophysite heresy was established as Apostolic truth in all its provinces from Macedonia to Egypt";* and Gibbon has expressed the same view of the situation in a characteristic passage: "Perhaps the Greeks would still be involved in the heresy of the Monophysites, if the Emperor's horse had not fortunately stumbled."†

It is obvious that a party so strong and numerous could not be destroyed in a day. And it might have been expected that they would soon make some effort to retrieve the defeat suffered in the Fourth Ecumenical Council whenever any change in the court policy seemed to promise a more successful issue. There was indeed no room for a direct reversal of the conciliar verdict. But it still seemed possible to weaken the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, and swing back the pendulum to the other side, by securing the condemnation of Ibas and Theodoret. These men had been condemned and deposed in the Robber Synod of Ephesus; they had sat in the Council of Chalcedon, which refused to condemn them, and admitted them to communion. If they could now be sentenced by an Ecumenical Council, it might well be that with a little ingenious mystification this measure would have the effect of lowering the popular estimate of Chalcedon and raising the reputation of the Synod of Robbers. From this point of view, the relations of Ibas and Theodoret with the Council of Chalcedon on the one hand and the Latrocinium on the other, are of more importance than the meaning and contents of their incriminated writings. And our author does well to dwell at some length on the earlier condemnation at Ephesus and the subsequent reconciliation and rehabilitation at Chalcedon. His account of the proceedings against Ibas of Edessa is particularly worthy of notice, as the story of the Syriac bishop is probably less known to most readers than that of his more famous companion in condemnation.

This historical disquisition on the "Three Chapters" was necessary, in order that the reader might be able to grasp

* "Development of Christian Doctrine," p. 302.

† "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. 47.

the general situation at the time of the Fifth Council, and rightly appreciate its bearing on the question of Papal authority. For, after all, this is the Russian writer's chief concern with the subject. He has little or nothing to do with the peculiar tenets of Nestorius and Eutyches and the orthodoxy of their respective opponents. Nor are the "Three Chapters" themselves considered here on their own merits. These were questions of grave moment for writers of an age when these doctrines were in dispute, and when the Church was still threatened by these rival heresies. But the power of both heretical parties is now a thing of the past, and on doctrines which they disputed our author has no controversy with his orthodox opponents. With them the point at issue is not the theological character of the "Three Chapters," but the part played by Pope Vigilius, and its significance in the controversy on Papal authority and infallibility. One of these critics had apparently laid great stress on this point, and urged that the Pope's conduct in the matter was incompatible with the Catholic theory of Infallibility. For Vigilius at one time resisted the proposed condemnation of the "Three Chapters," and, after some hesitation and vacillation, finally yielded to pressure, and acquiesced in the decision of the Emperor and the Council. Our author's answer is both simple and effective. Arguing from the evidence which he has brought together, he first shows that the question, on which Pope Vigilius vacillated, was not one of doctrinal definition, but a judicial condemnation of certain persons or writings. His first refusal was based on those grave reasons of prudence and policy, to which we have already alluded. It arose not from any sympathy with Nestorian errors, but from an anxiety to avoid giving, however indirectly, some countenance to the opposite heresy, and from a fear of schism—only too well founded. Nor did his final decision imply any change in doctrinal belief. But there is nothing in all this that is incompatible with the true notion of Papal Infallibility.

Here, the author effectively turns the tables on his orthodox antagonist by showing that the original argument—if it has any force—is equally fatal to the Infalli-

bility of Ecumenical Councils. For if Vigilius erred in refusing to condemn the "Three Chapters," the Council of Chalcedon had erred before him, since it took the same course, and that for the same reasons. On the other hand, if his final decision be regarded as erroneous, the Fifth Ecumenical Council was equally in error. Those who know how highly the orthodox theologians esteem the authority of Ecclesiastical Councils, will appreciate the force of this answer.

Another objection of Professor Belyaëff is also met in the same manner. He had pointed to the fact that the Western champions of the "Three Chapters" continued their opposition in despite of the Pope's condemnation, as showing that the Papal judgment was not regarded as final. But as our author justly observes, these stubborn advocates were resisting the decision of a General Council as well as that of Pope Vigilius—so that this argument also would be fatal to all ecclesiastical Infallibility. Assuredly, if it be once granted that the fact of resistance, on the part of those who are defeated, may be taken as an argument against the authority which decides against them, few tribunals will be left standing.

We have followed our author's example in lingering somewhat on the subject of this complex controversy—or rather on one particular aspect of the struggle. This is partly because, as we have said, this is one of the most satisfactory portions of the book before us, and it may, therefore, be taken as a favourable instance of the author's methods and workmanship. But this is not our only reason; the tangled tale of the Second Council of Constantinople is well worthy of careful consideration. It is true that, in some respects at least, this Council may be said to stand on a lower level than those which went before it. The first four Councils have been boldly likened to the four Gospels, and it must be confessed that, both in themselves and in their subject matter, there is a certain grandeur, which goes far to justify the comparison. Each one of them is engaged with some great fundamental mystery of the Faith; each one is marked by a like luminous triumph of the truth, wrought by the hands of

such heroic figures as Athanasius, and the Gregories, Cyril and Leo. It is otherwise with the Fifth Ecumenical Council, its doctrinal decisions do but reiterate the decrees of earlier synods, and the fresh matter is for the most part judicial and personal; and here, again, no grand figure emerges from the crowd of combatants. There is surely no one who can compare with the Fathers of the earlier Councils, or the champions who withstood the heresies of the first centuries. Nor is this all, the circumstances of the Council; the confusion of conflicting parties; the high-handed proceedings of the Emperor, and the vacillation of Pope Vigilius may well seem to make the whole of its history a scandal and a difficulty to the student; and he may be pardoned if he hastens to pass from its painful and perplexing pages. Even if we accept our author's account as a satisfactory solution; it is at any rate the fact that he finds the story of the Council a difficulty which has to be encountered, not a source of enlightenment.

But perhaps if we do but look deeper into the matter, we may find some lesson here which is wanting in the brighter pages of ecclesiastical history, and dark as it seems at first sight, the story of the struggle may yet help us to a better understanding of some later theological controversies. The history of Papal or Conciliar definitions of Faith, form one continuous exhibition of the Divine guidance of the Church, and the Working of the Holy Spirit is here, so to say, visibly set before us. But if we look only at those luminous points in which the Divine assistance appears with special brightness, we may easily be led to form an inaccurate and exaggerated notion of the nature and extent of ecclesiastical Infallibility. It is, therefore, well that we should be reminded that the heavenly treasure is enshrined in earthly vessels. The Church of Christ contains a human as well as a Divine element. Popes and Bishops in Council are in themselves but frail and fallible men, swayed, it may be, by human passions, by fear or ambition, or worldly wisdom. All indeed, is overruled by Divine Providence, good is drawn even out of the evil, and in spite of every obstacle the truth is made to triumph. But the actual Infallibility, or immunity from error, has a

comparatively limited range ; the power and prerogative of the Pope does not imply commanding natural gifts, or heroic sanctity, or a wise and consistent policy, and to form a true estimate of the Pope's office and Infallibility, the story of Vigilius is not less instructive than that of St. Leo.

Much the same may be said of the close balance of arguments for and against, in the struggle over the "Three Chapters." In some other instances, as the Catholic champions were saints or heroes, on the other hand their opponents were such men as Paul of Samosata, or Dioscorus. But here the antagonists are more on the same level. The defenders of the "Three Chapters" were in no wise inferior to those by whom they were eventually vanquished. They had, moreover, a goodly array of reasons in support of their cause, and for a time, at least, the Pope himself was with them. It is not perhaps so easy to express the matter in a few words. But, as the vacillation of Vigilius and others should serve to guard us against an exaggerated notion of Infallibility, so the position of such men as Facundus of Hermiane and his fellows may help us to a juster appreciation of the conduct of those who unhappily oppose the decisions of authority. It must be confessed that it did not have this effect on contemporary critics. But for those who now read over the story of this strange struggle, it may well serve to show how good men may at times be led astray by what are apparently excellent reasons. This may teach the controversialist the importance of entering into the real views and motives of his opponent ; and thereby lead him to judge with somewhat less of severity, and more of justice. Who knows but that this lesson is needed, not only by some of those whom our author is addressing, but by some who labour with him as champions of Catholicism?

Let us add another word before we leave this part of the subject. It is one thing to show that the line taken by Vigilius in no wise contradicts the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. It is quite another matter to defend his course throughout, or to form a high estimate of his personal character, and the wisdom of his policy. "Who,"

says Cardinal Newman, "can admire or revere Pope Vigilius?" But, though we are not prepared to say that such changes of policy are desirable; we venture to think that some of the Pope's critics have not fairly faced the difficulties of the situation. There are cases in which even a man of character and principle may find himself constrained to make sudden and unseemly changes. In the field of politics, we have a familiar instance of this in the passing of Catholic emancipation by the great ministers who had strenuously opposed it. And it can hardly be denied that the situation at the time of the Fifth Council was equally difficult and dangerous. It was a season for "fears of the brave and follies of the wise." And the Pope's changes, however regrettable, need not be ascribed to want of principle or weakness of character. Nor can we reasonably hold him responsible for the subsequent Istrian schism. The situation was not of his making. And it is likely enough that a more vigorous and consistent policy on the part of the Pope might even have been fraught with greater dangers. If Facundus of Hermiane had been in the place of Vigilius, the orthodox opponents of Theodore might have been driven into schism, to say nothing of the fresh impetus which might have been given to the Nestorian heresy. On the other hand, if the Emperor's policy had been followed from the first, this might well have caused yet further troubles in Italy and Africa. The course actually taken by the Pope was not the golden mean, but it probably had the advantage of avoiding some of the evils of either extreme.

The author, we may add, does not discuss the further charge against Vigilius, which comes to us on the dubious authority of the *Breviarium* of Liberatus. It may be presumed that the Russian writers, with whom he is dealing, have preserved a similar silence on this subject; for otherwise he would hardly have left them unanswered. This says something for the critical acumen which enables them to see the worthlessness of this calumnious accusation and the controversial candour which makes them shrink from the use of unworthy weapons.

We cannot follow the author through his careful examination of the case of Pope Honorius. It will be enough to say that here, again, he shows the same anxiety to put his readers in full possession of the facts, and enable them to grasp the true meaning of the evidence. Like most Catholic writers who have treated this subject, he holds that the Pope mistook the point at issue between Sophronius and his Monothelite opponents. And he insists that the unfortunate letter of Honorius was really orthodox in doctrine, though wholly inappropriate to the occasion. Here, as elsewhere in the work, our author makes an effective use of the words of one of the Russian controversialists. He takes Professor Belyaëff's summary of the position maintained by the Catholic apologist, and points to the fact that it is expressed almost in the very language of Honorius himself.

And here again, as in the case of the "Three Chapters," the greater part of the fifty pages devoted to the subject, is occupied with historical narrative. It may be well to add that particular attention is paid to the course of events in the years which intervene between the letter of Honorius and the Sixth General Council. If we are not mistaken, some writers who deal with this familiar difficulty take little account of this intermediate period, and pass at once from the letter, to the Council. Our author's more thorough method of going to work has the advantage of bringing into prominence the important part played by the Holy See in the course of the Monothelite controversy. One fact stands out amid the changing succession of Popes, and Emperors, and Patriarchs. Rome was the real stronghold of the true doctrine afterwards defined in the Council of Constantinople. There is surely a strange irony in the use which anti-Papal controversialists make of the cases of Vigilius and Honorius—especially when these writers are themselves Eastern theologians, or Anglicans who are apt to exalt the orthodoxy of the unchanging East. For in what did Vigilius err but in hesitating to condemn certain Eastern Bishops or their writings? And the blame attaching to the name of Honorius, is his failure to detect and expose the heresy of a crafty Patriarch of Constantinople. Whatever their

faults or failings, neither of these Popes can for a moment be likened to men like Paul and Pyrrhus, or the Bishops assembled in the Ephesian Latrocinium. If we do but read it aright, the history of the Fifth and Sixth Councils only serves to emphasise the authoritative position of the Holy See. This is seen in the efforts made to secure the Papal confirmation of the former Council ; while the blame given to Honorius shows us the duty belonging to his high office. Happily, the negligence of this unfortunate Pope was amply compensated by the zeal and energy of his immediate successors.

In his next chapter, our author turns to consider the case of Acacius and the subsequent schism. But in this, again, space forbids us to follow him. We may, however, leave this question with the less reluctance, as it is one of those which were fully and carefully treated in these pages by Dr. Rivington. In the latter portion of the same chapter, the author is mainly occupied with certain inaccuracies in Russian theological literature, and with some orthodox criticisms on the book of the Catholic apologist. At this part of his volume, the author, we may add, is led to depart from the chronological order which was generally observed in the earlier chapters. And the reader now finds himself back in the days of the Nicene Council, and studying the relations of Pope Julius with the Arian Bishops. This change becomes more apparent in the two concluding chapters, which take their respective titles, not from any doctrinal or historical questions, but from the polemical works of Professors Lebedeneff and Pushkoff. We are not now concerned with the author's criticism on those books, or with the effectiveness of his replies to the orthodox arguments against the Papal authority. For what has been said already may perhaps enable the reader to judge of the controversial merits of this Russian champion of the Church. And his treatment of some of those general difficulties, with which most of us are fairly familiar, may be left as an earnest of his ability to grapple with otherwise unknown assailants, and as an omen of a like successful issue. For this reason, we need not attempt the task of reproducing his comments

and criticisms. But before we take our leave of him, it may be well to say a word on another function fulfilled by his valuable volume.

Undoubtedly, the author's first object was to vindicate the truth in the face of his countrymen, to correct the mistakes and meet the objections which might otherwise prove stumbling-blocks in the path of those who were approaching the Catholic fold. For this end, it is admirably adapted, and we trust it may happily bear good fruit among those Russian readers for whose behoof it was mainly written. But to Catholics in this country, and elsewhere, the work naturally presents itself in another aspect. In the first place, it bears to us the promise of assistance from an unexpected quarter. We may not need, like the Russian reader, to be informed concerning Catholic doctrines, or to have the historical evidence in support of the Papacy set clearly before us. These things are not new to us; though, in spite of the excellent work done by other and earlier writers, we may still learn much from our author's method of vindicating the claims of the Holy See. But in another aspect, the book will give some valuable information to many English readers. Both in his own learned labour, and indirectly in what he shows us of the works which he quotes or criticises, the author opens to us an unexplored, if not an unsuspected, region of theological literature. In the unknown writer himself, we cannot fail to recognise a champion of no mean stature and prowess, whose natural powers have been developed by diligent study and training. At every turn he shows a generally accurate knowledge of the facts and a just appreciation of their meaning, together with an extensive acquaintance with the literature of the subject, with which he is dealing. We might well welcome the appearance of a writer of this stamp, even in some land already rich in Catholic divines and historians. But there is a special reason for satisfaction in the fact that this champion has arisen in Russia.

We might perhaps seem to build on a somewhat slender foundation, if we took the work before us as evidence of any widespread movement or literary activity

in Russian theological circles. For a book may sometimes be an isolated phenomenon; and even if ecclesiastical studies and early Church history were attracting little attention among his own countrymen, a solitary Russian writer might chance to be affected by foreign influences, and borrow his ideas and scholarship from neighbouring nations. But, as may be seen from what has here been said—and it will be still clearer to anyone who studies the volume for himself—the book before us does not stand in any such isolated position. And though it is doubtless true that the author has made good use of work done in the West, such as for instance the Latin editions of the Fathers and the Councils, or the later labours of German critics, it is by no means true that these are his only sources and authorities. As might perhaps be expected in the case of a posthumous publication, there is no list of the various works and editions consulted in the compilation of the present volume. But a careful reader may gather for himself from the text and footnotes a goodly array of Russian books which have been laid under contribution. Thus, in addition to the Russian or Church-Slavonic versions of the Fathers and the Councils, we meet with such works as Dobroklonski's monograph on *Facundus of Hermiane* and Glubokoffski's volume on *Theodoret*.

The mere list of names might be enough in itself to show that there is, to say the least, no stagnation in the waters of Russian divinity. Nor need we wonder, if here, as in other fields, the great Russian race is found putting forth its strength and pressing forward into the front rank amid the nations. It does not seem so long since the literature of Russia was held of no account, and the subjects of the Tsar were for the most part content to conduct their affairs, or give expression to their thoughts, in some alien tongue. But the vigorous and flexible language of the Muscovite has now asserted itself against the encroachments of the French and German; and the native literature has shown its high powers in the prose of Turgenieff and the poetry of Pushkin. Scholarship, and historical criticism, and scientific research have found a

congenial home in St. Petersburg ; and it would be strange if theological literature had claimed no share in this general advancement of learning. It would be a pleasing task to examine the history of this department of Russian letters, and attempt to form some estimate of its extent and importance. But we need hardly say that this is beyond our purpose on the present occasion. It will be enough to have noticed the fact that the book before us—apart from its worth in other respects—throws some welcome light on the literary activity of modern Russian theologians.

Much of this activity, we can regard with feelings of unmixed satisfaction. Such is certainly the case with the learned labours of our author, or of the Catholic apologist whose work is so frequently cited in his pages. And the same may be said of the purely historical and critical publications, such as the Russian or Slavonic editions of the Councils and the writings of the Fathers. Nor can we withhold a word of welcome for some even of those controversial publications which our author is engaged in refuting. It is true they apparently contain much that is mistaken, and at least in some places the writers use language which we can only read with regret. Yet, if we may judge from the brief extracts in the present volume, and from what we know of similar anti-Papal writings in this country, we doubt not that the authors have many good qualities, and despite their unfortunate bias and mistaken theories ; they may still help to throw some light on the questions under discussion. But apart from this, the very fact that the minds of Russian readers are thus directed to the historical and patristic evidence is, in itself, a hopeful sign. After all, the truth will find out its own. And though the Catholic champions may sometimes be outnumbered and occasionally overmatched in learning or dialectic ability by some of the writers arrayed against them, the judgment of candid men will not in the long run be determined by these things, but by the intrinsic weight of the evidence.

As we said at the outset, we are not in a position to estimate the worth of the book before us as a contro-

versial answer or a piece of criticism. Nor can we venture to judge of the comparative merits of the Catholic champion and his orthodox opponents. The whole literature of the controversy is not at present before us; and for all we know the opposing writers may have shown more power or learning in pages which are not here cited; and they may possibly have raised some other objections with which our author has failed to grapple. But, however this may be, and whatever rejoinder or criticism may have since come forth from the Russian ranks, there is that in the book before us which will still prove a lasting service to the cause of Catholicism. Were it only a matter of ingenious argument or eloquent pleading, it might be vanquished or at least neutralised by the efforts of some opponent more subtle or more persuasive. But while the present work is certainly not deficient in these qualities, they are far from constituting its sole or even its main merits. From a controversial point of view, its chief value lies in the author's painstaking examination of the facts, and the evidence of authentic documents. He takes the question at issue to a sure and solid ground, where even the labours of those who set about to refute him may haply contribute to the triumph of truth.

It is no disparagement to the author or to his fellow labourers in the field of Catholic controversy, to say that such works are generally likely to be more fruitful by their indirect influence on the reader's mind, than by the immediate force of the writer's arguments. This was certainly the case with the conversions which happily followed from the Catholic Revival in this country. The forces at work in that movement were many and various; and something was doubtless due to such writers as Cardinal Wiseman. But this was not so much by cogent argument which carried conviction to the readers, as by calling attention to striking passages in the Fathers, or suggesting an application of their words to modern controversies. In most cases, the light broke upon those who were engaged in studying the evidence for themselves; and if we mistake not, anti-Roman writings have sometimes had this happy effect on their authors or their readers.

Those who have studied the history of the English movement towards Catholicism may well have new hopes awakened by this Russian controversy. It is true that there are no signs in that quarter of any crisis that could be compared with that of the Oxford Movement; nor is there any religious leader endowed with the genius and persuasive powers of Cardinal Newman. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the work before a Russian champion of the Church—though it is certainly no light labour—is very far from the stupendous task undertaken by the Tractarians, or the leaders in our own Catholic Revival. Less potent factors might well suffice for a movement in which the distance to be travelled is so much smaller. No candid student can examine and compare the Russian and Roman theology, without recognising their close agreement on the most fundamental questions, and, we may venture to add, the somewhat artificial nature of the separating barriers. We lately had occasion to dwell on the deep and broad harmony of the Roman and Russian Liturgies—a pleasing fact which had been brought into prominence by Dr. Maltseff's learned labours. And we are happy to know that our words were echoed in Russia. It may possibly seem that the controversy agitated in the book before us, and in those which form the subject of its criticism, will come to strike a discordant note and dispel a pleasing illusion. And doubtless it is well to be reminded of the differences which still unhappily divide us; lest we should forget that there is still much to be done ere the bright hope of reunion can be accomplished. But if the first sight of this region of historical and theological controversy is, to say the least, somewhat disheartening, a calm and careful consideration of the points at issue tends to make the outlook more hopeful.

It is something to find so much that is common ground for Eastern and Western theologians. And what is more, the points of difference are apt to dwindle and disappear in the light of patient, impartial investigation. Nowhere in the regions of polemical theology has there been more exaggeration of minute differences, largely due to political and racial antipathy—which was by no means confined to

one party in the controversy. And there is thus the more reason to expect some good fruit from the calm and candid examination of evidence which is, happily, supplanting the ruder methods of an earlier generation.

Whatever his limits and imperfections, the author of the book before us clearly belongs to that band of peaceful and patient labourers. He does not deal in words that wound, or in sarcasm or sophistry. He simply searches for the truth, and seeks to set it fairly before his readers. For this reason the work is a more welcome addition to our theological literature than many a volume of greater power or originality. May the legacy left us by this Russian champion of the Church bring forth fruit in the future, and bear its part in hastening on the work of Christian reunion !

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

ART. V.—THE CATACOMBS OF SYRACUSE.

II.—DECORATION OF THE THREE PRINCIPAL CATACOMBS.

THE catacombs of Syracuse have been ravaged in turn by the Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Saracens, and, in consequence, but few remain of the innumerable inscriptions and frescoes with which they were doubtless once filled. But these few are of intense interest.

Most of the inscriptions (*i.e.*, epitaphs engraved with the chisel on stone) have been removed to the Museum, but the frescoes, *graffiti*, *dipinti**, and a few inscriptions in mosaic still remain *in situ*. They are found on the outside of the closing slabs of those *loculi* which have not been opened, on the layers of cement round the edges or covering the roofs of the recesses of the *arcosolia*, and on the bare wall-spaces. The decoration of Cassia and Sta. Maria di Gesù is more simple and archaic than that of San Giovanni. For instance, in San Giovanni we find remains of the marble *transennae* with which the arched openings of the *arcosolia* tombs were closed, whereas in the other catacombs they are entirely absent. Sometimes, apparently, these *transennae* took the form of wooden frames with movable shutters, or wooden lattices, but more commonly they were plain, smooth slabs of stone, perforated, in some cases, in a simple design, and in other cases carved in relief. Führer suggests that some of them only partially covered the openings, leaving a lunette-like space at the top. Where *transennae* are absent we can sometimes trace the remains of the mortar and stucco used for fixing them, and the grooves for fitting them in on either side.

Another difference which divides Cassia and Sta. Maria di Gesù from San Giovanni is that in the former the plaster has been as a rule tinted grey and yellow, whereas in the

* *Graffiti* are inscriptions or names roughly scratched on the plaster while still soft. *Dipinti* are inscriptions or names painted on a plain surface.

latter it has been left its natural colour. In some of the corridors of Cassia and Sta. Maria di Gesù the *loculi* have been regularly washed over with a kind of dark grey-blue. Apart from inscriptions and monograms the outside of these *loculi* is seldom decorated in a simple way; such decoration as is found is elaborate, and in good taste. In San Giovanni on the other hand the decoration of the fronts and inner vaultings of the *arcosolia* (which, it will be remembered, preponderate in this catacomb over the *loculi*), is often of the very rudest kind and points, Führer and Orsi both agree, to a period of decay. Führer sums it up by saying that in San Giovanni the quality of the decorations is not equal to their quantity. Sometimes one finds a rude border consisting of bands of different colours, and I remember one or two graves where the plaster was painted to imitate marble. Sometimes the whole surface is covered with lines or bars of colour crossing one another at right angles, while trees, palm-branches, doves, and chalices are roughly indicated on others.

It will be seen that the inscriptions in San Giovanni are far more striking and interesting than those in Cassia and Sta. Maria di Gesù.

In giving an account of the frescoes and inscriptions in the three catacombs, it is only possible to mention those that seemed to me the most important and the best preserved. I have taken them as far as possible in the order of their importance.

Frescoes.—1. The Oriental Christ; Cassia. Late third century.

In the most antique and dangerous part of this catacomb there is an excellently preserved and most remarkable eucharistic picture in the recess of an *arcosolium* tomb—so remarkable that it has no analogy, Führer says, in the whole of early Christian art. On the left of the picture is the figure of an Orans with outstretched arms; on the right is a remarkable male figure of much larger proportions and exhibiting a series of most interesting peculiarities. The attitude is altogether unusual. He is seated on a red carpet on the ground, with the feet together and the knees wide apart, in fact like a Turk, save that the legs are

not crossed. He is dressed in a long robe, held up by a girdle, stretched tight over the knees and coming down so as to cover the feet. A kind of large collar with barbaric ornamentation covers shoulders and breast, and, above this, a narrow red tie with ends hanging loose. The head bears out the strange impression made by the figure. The face is oval, the forehead low, the hair reddish-brown; the eyes stare straight out of the picture, while the highly-arched brows are of a distinctly Chinese type. Most curious of all are the ear-rings, two rings of gold, depending one from the other, on either side.

Führer well sums up the attitude and appearance of the figure in saying that it has a Buddha-like appearance. But the sacred symbols that surround it leave no doubt that it is intended for our Lord. The left hand holds a palm-branch, the right supports a glass chalice by the stem. The chalice is partly filled with red wine, and above is an exceedingly large circular host marked with the cross. To the right is a bird, carrying a twig in its beak, in outline like a dove, but with brown and yellow plumage. The background of the picture is filled with immense rosebuds, green creepers, and leaves. A child was interred in the tomb underneath, and is undoubtedly represented by the small praying figure on the left of the picture. The flowers were probably intended to typify the joys of Paradise, to which the child had been received through the merits of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and the victory over the world and the flesh.

But the question remains—What explanation is there of the strange costume in which Christ is depicted? Here we are entirely in the dark, and not even a conjecture seems to be forthcoming. To suppose any other explanation than the eucharistic one given above, would be to rob the picture of all meaning. But as it is less than four years ago that Führer in the course of his excavations came upon this extraordinary fresco we may hope that light may yet be thrown upon the subject. With regard to the matter Führer himself says: "The picture would seem to be strongly influenced by Oriental art, and is remarkable for this as well as for its profound symbolical meaning.

No fresco (not even that in the cubiculum of Sta. Lucina in the catacomb of St. Callixtus at Rome, representing a fish and a wickerwork basket containing several 'breads,' while through the interstices of the basket a glass filled with wine can be discerned) points more clearly to the Holy Eucharist, and none puts more clearly before us the consoling hope which in all ages has been attached to the reception of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. In this picture we have the most vigorous embodiment of the idea already attested by Ignatius and Irenaeus, that to the believer is offered, in this Sacrament, a *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*, an *ἀντιδόσις τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν*."

2. Tomb of Marcia ; Cassia. Middle of fourth century.

This is in a less remote part of Cassia. As in the preceding instance the fresco is in the semicircular recess of an *arcosolium*. Christ, with St. Peter and St. Paul on either hand, is apparently standing at the entrance to Paradise (represented by branches with fruit and flowers on either side of the picture), and kneeling before Him is a young woman praying to be allowed to enter. The figure of our Lord is very striking ; His face is beardless, and the hair, which falls in long locks to the shoulders, reddish-brown. Brows strongly marked, eyes wide and serious. The nose is long, the lips full, and the whole face is of a decidedly Jewish character. The head is surrounded by a green nimbus, and the figure clothed in a yellowish-red tunic with full sleeves, and a cloak of the same colour hanging from the left shoulder and falling below the knees. His right hand is raised and open, either in blessing or to signify to the suppliant the granting of her prayer ; the left is resting in the folds of His toga, grasping a scroll, with one finger of preposterous size outside. With the exception of this finger, which is probably due to some curious convention, the whole fresco is a work of art.

St. Peter and St. Paul are represented on a smaller scale than the figure of the Saviour, and have no nimbus. They both face the spectator and look straight out of the picture ; they do not differ in either posture or dress. A yellow-grey tunic covers the whole body to the sandalled feet, and

over the tunic is a cloak of the same colour. Each holds a scroll in the left hand. The face of St. Paul is long and Jewish, and adorned with a pointed red beard ; the face of St. Peter is rounder, with beard and short grey hair. Close to the head of St. Peter it is possible to trace the remains of the name Πετρος in black letters.

The dress of Marcia herself is somewhat elaborate—a full dark yellow robe with a hem of red edging the wide sleeves. A white veil falls from the head over the back, and partly hides the thick red-gold hair which, in front, comes down low over the forehead. The arms are outstretched in supplication towards Christ. Over the left wrist is thrown a short narrow cloth, white with fringed edge ; from the right hangs a similar cloth, but of larger size. These cloths are to mark the reverence with which the dead person approaches the Saviour, and are similar to the vestment worn on the left fore-arm by a priest when celebrating Mass. Close to the head of the kneeling woman is an inscription of six lines :

MAPKIAEZHCE
ETHKE
MHNEC
H
HMEPAC
IE

That is to say : Marcia, aged twenty-five years, eight months, fifteen days.

On the front of the tomb itself are two peacocks, drinking from a mystical chalice.

3. The Good Shepherd with Orans ; Cassia. Probably third century.

This is a very beautiful fresco, showing considerable power of design and great skill in execution. The figure of the Good Shepherd is that of a beardless boy ; the hair is curly, and on the face there is an expression of quiet dignity. He is dressed in a short white tunic with sleeves, drawn up over a girdle and barely reaching to the knees, and a reddish-brown cape covering shoulders and breast. The figure is stepping forward, and the legs are strapped

in thongs. Sheep are grazing on either side, while the Shepherd Himself carries a lamb, holding it by the feet and resting it upon His shoulder. In this case the Orans is an older woman ; the head and part of the arms have been destroyed, but the figure is well and gracefully drawn and is draped in a yellowish-brown dress of rich appearance. The conventional rosebuds of gigantic size fill up the space between the figures.

4. In the *Rotunda* of Victoria is a decoration of various flowers upon a white ground which shows great skill in both draughtsmanship and colour, and doubtless belongs to the third century. Underneath this is a symbolical representation of Christ and the faithful under the ancient form of a large fish surrounded by a number of little fishes which recalls the famous passage from Tertullian : *Nos pisciculi secundum IXΘYN nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus.*

5. In a small independent section of Cassia, with a separate entrance of its own into the *Rotunda* (described above) from which we entered we saw a family *arcosolium*, with peacocks and other birds—doubtless an imagination of Heaven—painted on the ceiling of the arch, with two Biblical scenes on either side. On the left-hand side we recognised Jonah and Daniel in the lions' den ; on the right, one represented the raising of Lazarus and the other was indistinguishable.

6. In Sta. Maria di Gesù there are no frescoes which require to be described at length, but there are several symbolic pictures of flowers and plants and the Christian symbols of the fish, the peacock, the dove abound. The most striking fresco is a fresh and life-like painting which recalls the frescoes of Pompeii. It probably dates from the last quarter of the third century. There are trails of green rising from a large acanthus leaf and curling upwards with smaller acanthus leaves and bunches of cherries above. At the top of one of the green trails sits a bird like a thrush. Elsewhere, I noticed a fresco which reminded me of an old chintz, with roses and oleanders painted on the back of the recess of an *arcosolium*, and the arched roof

tinted to imitate marble. On a tablet closing a small *loculus* were fancy festoons of roses and rosebuds in blue and red.

7. The Deodata ; San Giovanni. Fourth century.

This fresco, in which Christ appears, with the mystical letters Alpha and Omega on either side of His head, crowning a young woman (presumably a saint), was discovered under a thick coating of plaster. Like most of the frescoes in the crypt of St. Marcian, it had doubtless been covered up in this way in order to protect it from destruction by the Vandals or Saracens. To this covering it owes its present fresh appearance, though the central group, consisting of Christ with St. Peter and St. Paul, was unfortunately much damaged in removing the plaster. Christ appears in the more natural and traditional representation of a man with dark hair and beard, and when we gaze on this painting of our Lord we realise the strangeness of the guise—that of a beardless boy with red-brown hair—in which He appears so often in Cassia. He is standing in an attitude of dignity and solemnity, with His face directly turned to the spectator. He is clothed in a yellow tunic, with sleeves covering the upper arm only, and a dark brown cloak. His left hand holds a scroll and His right is lifted, holding a red crown over the head of a girl—the “Deodata”—who is also facing the spectator. The face of the Deodata is peculiar; dark hair falls on either side, the eyes are very wide open, and the lips are tightly drawn together as though she was one who had attained saintliness by passing through the fires of suffering.

The figures of the Apostles have been much injured. The head of St. Peter is almost entirely lost. St. Paul, as usual, is represented as bald and with a long beard. Save for a slight rearrangement of the drapery they are dressed in the same way as our Lord, but the hanging end of their cloaks is decorated with the letter I. Round the picture are the conventional flowers which represent Paradise, green foliage with dark red buds, roses and oleanders in blossom. Between St. Peter and the left-hand edge of the picture are the remains of an undecipherable red *dipinto* inscription of six lines in which the name Πετρος occurs.

[No. 35 of Fourth Series.]

10

instance of the art of statuary found in the catacombs of Syracuse. It cannot date from earlier than the second half of the fourth century.

2. The sarcophagus of Adelfia (now in the Museum).

This was unearthed in 1872 by Cavallari from the spot where it had been intentionally buried under the *débris* of a number of other sarcophagi in order to hide it from the barbarians and Saracens. Cavallari, Orsi, Führer, and others seem all agreed that this is undoubtedly an example of Roman art, and Führer points out its marked resemblance to a sarcophagus found at San Paolo fuori le mura at Rome. In the centre, within a large circular fluted shell, are the busts of a husband and wife in high relief, the wife's left arm round her husband's neck. From his dress it is clear that the man is of senatorial rank, and his wife's rich robe points to an equally exalted position. The hair of the woman is bound with a graceful fillet. Starting from the left-hand side of the lid the frescoes represent a series of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, beginning with Moses striking the rock and ending with the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem. There is no sequence of events, Adam and Eve picking the forbidden fruit being, for instance, placed between the marriage at Cana and the entry into Jerusalem. There are three rows in all, and the first fresco of the middle row is perhaps the most curious. Our Lord, represented again as a beardless young man, is explaining their new state of life to Adam and Eve after the Fall; to Adam He is giving a sheaf of corn and to Eve a young lamb. Two of the reliefs on the lid are also noteworthy; in one a woman is drawing water from a miraculous spring, and the other shows the reception of a departed soul, that of a woman, among the choir of the Blessed, presided over by the Blessed Virgin. In the centre of the front of the lid, and just over the medallion, is the following inscription:

H(ic)
Adelfia C(larissima)
f(emina) posita compar
Baleri comitis

which may be rendered, "Here lies Adelfia, an illustrious lady, the wife of Count Valerio."

The title *comes* presents some difficulty, but has been explained as having reference to the rank of *Comes civitatis Syracusanæ*. References in Cassiodorus to this rank, and to a Comes Valerius or Valerianus living in Syracuse, would fix the date of the monument as late as the Gothic rule in Sicily, or about the beginning of the sixth century. Such a conclusion is opposed to the style of the sculpture and to the known fact that Christian sculpture flourished for an exceedingly short time, and that nearly all the known works of Christian sculpture date from the latter half of the fourth century. The Valerius mentioned as the husband of Adelfia may be some other Valerius than that mentioned by Cassiodorus, and we do not know for certain that the title of *comes* was not used before the period of Gothic rule. It is curious that the lid is shorter than the body of the sarcophagus, and is carved from a different marble; this has given rise to the conjecture that the sarcophagus was originally intended for a different person, and that a fresh lid was added when it was devoted to Adelfia. The reliefs on the lid, too, are much smaller than the other reliefs. Führer suggests that probably the sarcophagus was not ordered specially, but chosen from the stock of some studio, and was therefore complete, with the exception of the portraits, before its purchase. A fuller account of the sarcophagus will be found in Cavallari's "Sul sarcofago ritrovato nelle Catacombe di Siracusa," published at Palermo in 1872.

Inscriptions. — Führer has photographed nearly the whole collection of inscriptions in the Museum, and also, by means of magnesium wire, many of those that still remain *in situ*. This series of photographs is most valuable as demonstrating the peculiarities in the character of the writing at different periods. In the eastern division of Cassia an immense number of *graffiti* and *dipinti* remain; in the western, inscriptions on marble and limestone preponderate. Most of the inscriptions in the eastern division are extremely simple, sometimes giving the name of the dead person and nothing beyond, and

sometimes the name of the dead person combined with a cruciform monogram. On one of the still intact graves in the more remote part of the catacomb we saw POYXIMA (Rufina), and on another HPAKA (Heraclia) painted in colours as fresh as though laid on a week ago. On yet another we made out KANΔΙΔΑ scratched on the plaster, and wondered what loving hand inscribed the name on the still damp lime when the tomb closed over "Candida."

San Giovanni is probably richer in inscriptions than any other catacomb in the world. Over four hundred have already been found, but most of them have been removed to the Museum. Out of this immense number I have chosen, almost at random, five of the most perfect in Greek (of which three are undated, and two with dates attached), and one in Latin:

1.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ
ΠΡΙΑΝΟΣ
ΣΑΤΟΔΕ—
ΠΕΝΤΕΜ
ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡ

This was discovered by Orsi, and is interpreted by Führer, ἐνθάδε (κεῖται) Πριανὸς, (ἀνεπαύ) σατο δέ(τες) (δέκα) Πέντε μῆνος φεβρουαρίου

Orsi, however, prefers, Ἐνθάδε (κεῖται) Πριανὸς (τελευτή) σα (ς) τὸ δέ(κα) καὶ πέντε μ(ή)νος φεβρουαρίου.

2.

ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ
ΤΕΡΤΙΟΥΛΛΑΝ
ΔΙΑΚΚΑΝΔΕΙ
ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΙΕ

The *lacunae* in this case are easily supplied, and there is no doubt that the inscription runs: Ἀπέθανεν Τερτουλλαν(ος) διάκ(ονος) Κα(λά)νδες Ἀυγούσταις.

3. Example with date:

Ἐνθάδε κίτε Παῦλα ξήσας(α)ἔτη κε' ἀνέλυσε δὲ τὸν βίον πρὸς ἡ' καλα(ν)δῶν Δεκεμβρίων ὑπατία Ἱερίου καὶ Ἀρταβουρίου τῶν λανπροτάτων.

= Paula died at the age of twenty-five on the 24th November, 427, under the consulate of Hierius and Artaburius.

4. Another example with date :

ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ καλῆς μηνὸς Ἀφροδίσης τῇ πρὸ ιβ'
καλανῶν Μαίων, ζήσας ἔτη ἑκοσι τρία, ὑπατία Θεοδοσίου
τ(ὸ) ξ' καὶ Παλλαδίου τοῦ λανπρ (οτάτου).

= Aphrodises died on the 20th April, 416, when Theodosius (for the seventh time) was consul, with Palladius.

5.

ENΘAKEITAI
EPWTAPEIWN
ZHCACETHEIKO
EIDOIWETEAEYTH
CENMHNIOKTWBPEIW
ΔWΔEKATH.

The lettering of the second three lines is much smaller than that of the first three.

Ἐνθα κεῖται Ἐρωταρείων ζήσας ἔτη ἑκοσι δοίω ἐτελεύτησεν
μηνὶ ὀκτωβρείῳ δωδεκάτῃ.

Attention should be paid to the charming and rare name *Ερωταρείων* (i.e., *Ἐρώτιον*, or little Eros), in which a pagan influence is still very visible.

6. Latin example :

Depositus Sporus V. Kal(endar) Jan(uarias) qui
vixit annis LIII. deo suo devotus. Constantia
conjux ob meritum ejus posuit cum qua convixit
annis XII. et decessit in pace Constantio Aug(usto)
VIII. et Juliano Caes(are) cons(ulibus), i.e., in the
year 356.

Smaller Objects of Art.—On the outside of *loculi* and over the arched openings of *arcosolia* are found various simple forms of ornamentation. In the eastern division of Cassia and in Sta. Maria di Gesù there are examples of glass mosaics arranged in geometrical patterns, and of shells of all sorts and sizes embedded in the plaster, either singly or in groups which form some symmetrical figure. In San Giovanni we find a curious arrangement of small openings from the outside into the interior of the graves, guarded by a movable grating. These were plainly for pouring sweet oils into the grave as a mark of reverence

for the dead, and it is thought that the same idea, or possibly the necessity of disinfecting a catacomb, appears in the glass vessels which are found in small niches under certain of the graves. Under the grave of Peregrina* (452 A.D.) in a plaster niche was found a series of fragments of such glasses, one of which had evidently taken the place of another as they got broken. This renewal of the glass vessels and the presence of a clay vessel containing cinders and traces of incense shows that special honour was paid to Peregrina.

Every kind of cup, goblet, dish, jug, and bottle, varying in form and size, in colour and design, is found inside the graves. In some of the dishes remains of lime have been found which show that efforts were made at disinfection.

Many curious objects such as shells, hoofs of horses or asses, and bones of lambs were also placed with the dead inside the graves, evidently as charms. In Cassia a piece of sheet bronze, rolled up and covered with magic signs, was in one instance found within a grave, and in San Giovanni a lancet-shaped eucharistic knife was in a similar way found buried.

Coins were also constantly found inside the graves, but as this was mainly the case in San Giovanni it is not surprising that none of them belong to the pre-Constantine period. In one case—in a closed grave—twelve silver coins of the time of Queen Maria of Aragon (1377—1402) were found. This points to the startling fact that even at the close of the Middle Ages a burial took

* The tomb of Peregrina was discovered by Professor Orsi in 1895, and he gives a most interesting account of it in his monograph on the excavations in San Giovanni in that year. The grave was closed by a large slab of highly polished marble attached to the sides of the sarcophagus with very hard cement made of powdered marble. When this was raised, it was seen that it rested on a bed of fragments of tile and cement which, in its turn, hid the real coverings with which the tomb was closed. Inside was found, to Orsi's great surprise, not only the skeleton of Peregrina, but two other adult skeletons. Were these two the parents of Peregrina who wished to be buried with their daughter, or others who thought it an honour and a happy augury to sleep the last sleep by the side of a girl who was already the object of veneration? On the west side of the slab of marble with which the tomb was closed was the following inscription in small red letters: *Ἐτελευτήσεν ἡ καλῆς μνήμης Περεγρίνα τῶν Βολιμαρίων τῇ προ δ' εἰδῶν Νοβεμβριῶν ὑπατία Ἐρκουλιάνου καὶ ἡγῆς (εἰ τις) ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῆς μεμνήσεται.*

place in this catacomb, abandoned four centuries previously.

Attention has been drawn in the early part of this article to the iron nails and remains of bronze wire, which prove that the catacombs were lit with hanging lamps. Innumerable examples of small clay lamps have also been found. Some were apparently used as votive lamps, while others have been found within the graves. They present endless varieties of design, including examples of great beauty and a purity of form which recalls classic models, as well as examples of careless workmanship and ugly design that point to a period of decay. They also exhibit great variety in decoration, and in the collection in the Museum I observed some decorated with the monogram of Christ, others with Greek or Latin crosses, others again with symbolic representations from the plant or animal world. Not a few have heads or busts of men or women in relief upon them; on one is a seated female figure with a naked infant on her knees—probably the Blessed Virgin with the infant Christ—while others seem to show the Apostles and Christ Himself in the act of teaching. But the *genre*-pictures, in which a pagan influence is clearly visible, with scenes from the circus, flute-players, tritons, etc., are perhaps the most curious.

III.—HISTORICAL SURVEY.

In forming conclusions as to the absolute and relative dates of the three catacombs, we must consider the light thrown upon their history from various points of view, such as the character of the catacombs themselves and of the graves, the subjects and manner of execution of the frescoes, the number and length of the inscriptions and the quality of the writing, the method of dating, etc.

In contrasting the three catacombs one is immediately struck by the spaciousness and grandeur of scale of San Giovanni as compared with the others. Even the large central chamber with its antechambers in the eastern division of Cassia cannot produce an effect approaching that of the principal chambers of San

Giovanni. The tufa which, instead of limestone, prevails in Cassia and Sta. Maria di Gesù may have necessitated the construction of smaller chambers; but the air of archaic simplicity and the rudeness of scheme which characterise them immediately convinces even the least sophisticated observer of their greater antiquity. It will, for instance, at once be noticed that in Sta. Maria di Gesù and Cassia long passages are traversed in the dark, and that light and air-shafts are not nearly so frequent as in San Giovanni. Führer also attracts attention to the fact that in the two former catacombs there is not a single instance of a detached sarcophagus cut from the natural rock, such as occur frequently in the last, while, on the other hand, the rude graves cut in the floors of the passages are comparatively rare in Cassia and Sta. Maria di Gesù, whereas in San Giovanni they occur in great numbers. Such floor-graves are known to be the growth of a later date.

It is also well known that the greater the prevalence of *loculi* in a catacomb the greater is its antiquity, and in Sta. Maria di Gesù and the eastern division of Cassia with a few exceptions only *loculi* occur, whereas in the western division of Cassia and in San Giovanni *arcosolia* occur in even greater numbers than *loculi*. It is necessary to make this distinction between the eastern and western divisions of Cassia, because the western division presents an unmistakable likeness to the oldest part of San Giovanni.

In studying the frescoes it is necessary to remember that those of an earlier date often represent figures and plants of which the meaning is symbolic and allegorical, and that there was a freshness and vigour about the painting of the earliest frescoes which gradually declined, a mere conventionalism taking their place. Thus the symbol of the fish, so frequent in earlier Christian art, does not once occur in San Giovanni, and in those frescoes of the same catacomb which represent our Lord not a single one depicts Him as the Good Shepherd. And in the subject pictures in San Giovanni the addition of monograms and, to a certain degree, also the choice of subjects, points to a late epoch, for monograms were only added after the triumph of the

Church, and analogous subjects in the case of frescoes of known date are sometimes to be found elsewhere. For instance, in San Giovanni there is a fresco which represents the reception of a departed soul into Paradise. A parallel to this occurs in a fresco of the second half of the fourth century in Rome, and examples of the crowning of a saint, similar to the "Deodata," are found in fifth century frescoes and sixth century mosaics.

It must be admitted that symbolic motives from the plant and animal world are found in San Giovanni, and it might seem as if these pointed to the decorative characteristics of an earlier period of the arts. But there is a great lack of the vigour and truthfulness to nature which are so noticeable in similar frescoes found in Sta. Maria di Gesù and the eastern division of Cassia. Often outlines seem hastily drawn and filled in with an entirely conventional treatment, and fanciful designs take the place of forms founded on a correct observation of nature. The same period shows an even greater decay of power to portray the human figure. Führer draws attention to an *arcosolium* decorated with Byzantine pillars which shows a complete loss of the sense of beauty and fitness, and which he says cannot be earlier than late fifth century.

An examination of the other catacombs shows that the best frescoes found in them are far superior both in form and execution to those which would seem to be the earliest in San Giovanni. Besides this, there are, especially in the eastern division of Cassia, striking instances of figures of a symbolic and allegorical character, typical of an earlier stage in the development of Christian art. Instances occur which point, by choice of subject and manner of treatment, to the third century.

We must also remember that, since, as has already been mentioned, it is a well-known fact that Christian sculpture only flourished in the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, it is very significant that not a single object of sculpture occurs in either Cassia or Sta. Maria di Gesù.

In San Giovanni a number of the inscriptions are dated, most of these dates being between 400 and 450 A.D. On

some of the *loculi* in the same catacomb stamps have been used, and the monogram of Christ, or simply some name, stamped on the plaster while still wet. This is plainly a comparatively late device. In the *graffiti* marked contrasts in the form of letters, the use of abbreviations, and the general character of the writing enable us to assign approximate dates. It may be laid down as a general rule that the *graffiti* in which the writing is clearest and best are the oldest. In some of the latest the writing is so bad as to almost be undecipherable; in none is the writing sufficiently good to enable us to assign them to the period before Constantine, while the gross mistakes in grammar which occur exhibit a similar decay in the feeling for language. Attention has also already been drawn to the fact that in the eastern division of Cassia and Sta. Maria di Gesù long inscriptions are practically unknown, which is another proof of their greater antiquity. The mere number of inscriptions is in itself an indication, as greater scarcity of inscriptions as well as greater simplicity in their contents is evidence of greater antiquity. In some of the inscriptions in San Giovanni there are references to the possession of the grave, to its position, to its acquisition (*e.g.*, 'αγορασίᾳ φιλικῶς εἰατροῦ), to its former possessor, to the witnesses of the purchase, and to the price. Moreover, warnings against the misuse of a grave are found; also words addressed to the passer-by (*e.g.*, "Lege et recede" and "ἀναγνὼς ἀναχώρει"); dates of death and burial, age of deceased, references to social position, to good life and edifying death. All this betrays the spirit of a relatively late age.

It is also important to note that in San Giovanni, as contrasted with the other cemeteries, there is a whole series of deviations from the mode of dating which had been in use in the Roman Empire for centuries. Führer attracts special attention to the fact that in many cases the transition to the "continuous" (*fortlaufenden*) reckoning of the days of the month is shown by the fact that the expression "ὅτε ἀπὸ Καλανθῶν," or "ἀπὸ Καλανθῶν," is used to indicate the date from which the days are reckoned. Much more often we find the cardinal number with the article, with the name

of the month either in the dative or genitive preceding or in the genitive following. Thus:

1. μηνὶ φεβρουαρίῳ τεσ (ταῖς) εἴκοσι τεσάρους.
2. Ὀκτωβρίου ταῖς δέκα ι'.
3. τῇς πέντε του μηνὸς Ιουνίου.

Sometimes the ordinal number or the figure occurs simply in conjunction with the name of the month. Thus:

1. μηνὶ ὀκτωβρ(ε)ῖῳ δωδεκάτῃ.
2. ζι Δυ (γούστου).

This new mode of dating is not found in Sta. Maria di Gesù; it occurs once in the eastern division of Cassia, three times in the western division, and frequently in San Giovanni. We do not know the exact date when this new fashion, imported from the East, became naturalised in the West, but it is very significant that the eastern section of Cassia and Sta. Maria di Gesù do not present a single instance of an epitaph containing an absolutely certain reference to a consular year. San Giovanni on the other hand has two dozen such inscriptions.

Because the date on the earliest of the dated inscriptions coincides approximately with the period to which, on other grounds, we must assign the foundation of San Giovanni (the middle of the fourth century), we need not conclude that the cemetery ceased to be used shortly after the date recorded in the latest of the dated inscriptions. The period of 150 years over which the dated inscriptions in San Giovanni extend was only the most important period of its development. It has already been noticed that in the case of the paintings it is not rare to find one layer of frescoed stucco superimposed upon an older layer, and we must also draw attention to the fact that frescoes have, in many instances, been partly destroyed by the later construction of *loculi* in the wall-spaces. Orsi draws especial attention to the curious way in which later generations stole and adapted to their own purposes the inscriptions on earlier tombs.

These and other considerations lead us to the conclusion that San Giovanni must have been used at least well into the sixth century.

To sum up: the evidence from varying points of view which we are able to bring to bear on the origin of the three catacombs leads us to conclude that the earliest portion of Sta. Maria di Gesù and the most archaic portion of Cassia date from about the year 260 A.D. I myself cannot help thinking that the most remote portion and the lowest stories of the eastern division of Cassia must have pre-dated the foundation of Sta. Maria di Gesù by a few years, but I have no substantial reasons to put forward beyond its appearance of greater antiquity, and the fact that it must have been more remote and less accessible than any portion of Sta. Maria di Gesù, and therefore more suitable as a hiding-place in times of persecution. That the Church of Syracuse suffered severely under the persecution of Valerian is well known, but the Christians were probably very little troubled in the period of tranquillity which followed, and the short persecution under Diocletian would hardly account for the number of martyrs buried in the lower galleries of the eastern division of Cassia. Orsi apparently upholds this theory to a certain extent, for he spoke to us of the most remote portion of Cassia as being the original nucleus of all the catacombs.

It was probably during the tranquil period which intervened between the persecutions of Valerian and Diocletian and when there was a great accession of converts that the great central hall of Cassia was excavated, and placed in connection with all the different parts of the vast eastern division of that catacomb. Various minor chambers for the celebration of funeral rites were also made. Soon after this and slightly before the accession of Constantine the western division of Cassia was founded in order to meet the requirements of an ever-increasing Christian community. When at length the immense impetus of being raised to be the State religion came, and with it the conversion of that class which up to that time had held aloof, the Syracusan Christians, aided by their new aristocratic

adherents, felt that the time had come when, without abandoning the use or extension of the older cemeteries, they should begin a new cemetery of such proportions as would be worthy of their new estate. The degree of development shown in the new necropolis, its vast scale and the richness of its decoration prove that, after centuries of decay, Syracuse was at that time enjoying a certain revival of prosperity. The splendid proportion of the halls and *Rotunde* of San Giovanni would, in itself, supply us with sufficient data for fixing the period to which this cemetery belongs, for everything tells of the triumph of the Church and of a time when there was no longer any necessity for Christians either to hide themselves or to tremble on account of their religion.

But the commercial prosperity which made such lavish expenditure on San Giovanni possible was of short duration. The inroads of the Vandals under Geiserich, about the middle of the fifth century, once more reduced the majority of the citizens to ruin. The regular construction of fresh galleries was given up; the walls of the existing galleries were honeycombed with new *arcosolia*, above or below those already there; almost every available space was used for *loculi*, and the dead were freely buried in the floors. The population of Syracuse little by little dwindled away, and soon after the year 470, the burials being comparatively few, the other cemeteries were finally abandoned and San Giovanni alone continued to be used. With an ever-increasing poverty, the old regulation which forbade the burial of more than one person in a grave dropped out of use, while bodies were frequently turned out of ancient graves to make room for new occupants, and decorations were stolen and altered to suit the new purposes for which they were required.

As we read the history of Syracuse there seems no end to the misfortunes which overtook the once proud city, and we wonder that one stone rests on another to tell the tale of so many sieges and so many conquests and sacks. In 549 the Ostrogoths under Totila took the city and looted the catacombs. But the use of San Giovanni apparently lasted till the seventh century, indeed until the Saracens subju-

gated Syracuse in 669. But this subjugation was merely temporary (as were also those of 705 and 740), and, if not used, the underground cemeteries were probably visited by pilgrims until the final occupation of Syracuse by the Saracens in 878. The next two or three centuries were a period of total abandonment and decay.

Professor Orsi assigns other causes which may have led to the denudation and devastation of the catacombs, and among these the most powerful may have been the fanaticism of the Iconoclasts, who, about 730, obtained the upper hand in Syracuse. In any case, the number of sacred images in the catacombs that have been broken or defaced is very remarkable, but we cannot tell whether that was the work of the Iconoclasts or of the Arabs. Another cause may have been the relic-collecting mania of devout Catholics in the ninth century. A contemporary witness, a monk named Theodosius, paints for us in vivid colours the taking of the city by the Arabs in the fated year 878, and the horrors of a sack that lasted two months, and the utter ruin which overtook the catacombs during the next centuries is strikingly described by Orsi in the following words: "manomessi i sepolchri, spogliati i marmi, scrostati i mosaici, sfregiate le pitture, tutto cadde in abbandono; s'interrarono le gallerie, si ostruirono gli accessi."

According to Führer the first basilica of San Giovanni was not built until the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century.* This basilica was doubtless destroyed by the Saracens, but about 1180 a new church was built by the Normans on the same spot. About the same period such part of the cemeteries as was not choked by earth and rubbish began once more to be visited by the faithful and also by adventurers in search of any buried treasure which might have escaped former plunderers. One or two interesting *graffiti* record the names of visitors of the fifteenth century, and the smoke-stains of torches or lamps have an even more recent appearance. As we have seen, extraordinary as it appears, the catacombs were after this yet

* The word Dr. Führer uses is *Wende*, i.e., the *turning* of the sixth and seventh centuries, which I take to mean the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh.

once more lost to sight and knowledge for upwards of two centuries. But it appears at all times to have been characteristic of the Syracusans to forget their great dead, for it is recorded that when Cicero visited Syracuse little more than a century after the death of Archimedes he found the philosopher's tomb unremembered and unhonoured.

A. F. SPENDER.

Science Notices.

The Paris Exhibition.—No one who first viewed the Paris Exhibition from the Pont d'Alma would deny that it embodies a great and artistic conception. Often in the past have International Exhibitions been planned merely from the utilitarian point of view, and their exteriors been remarkable for their unsightliness. But not so the Parisian palaces that have been raised on the banks of the Seine to receive the first-fruits of the world's progress in 1900. So fantastic are the diverse structures that the beholder might well imagine he was in the midst of an Eastern city of dreams.

But the execution of this vast conception has been so far wanting that on the 15th of April, when its gates were opened to the public, the Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures of the World were mainly represented by unopened cases and the early and ugly stages of stall erections. It was a disappointed public that paraded the huge workshops, and looked in vain for some finished exhibit. But the public were not the class to be most pitied. Too much sympathy could not be bestowed on the suffering exhibitors, who, amidst confusion and disorder, were endeavouring either to trace out their allotted spaces or find their strayed cases. Exhibitions have been proverbial for their backwardness on the opening day, but such an example of incompleteness has never been witnessed as the present one; while a month later, when this notice is being written, not only exhibits, but even the buildings are far from completion.

The British exhibits almost exclusively partake of that commercial type which has more and more characterised them at recent international exhibitions; and even in the more strictly scientific departments, such as Education, Arts, and Sciences, the scientific instruments and appliances are more conspicuous for displaying the brazen art of the instrument maker than representing the latest departure of the inventor or the newest researches of the investigator. It seems a pity that in such

[No. 35 of *Fourth Series*.]

exhibitions there is so little attempt made for the popularisation of science. The public cannot gather much information from the contemplation of dreary rows of showcases full of appliances, the majority of which do not even bear a label of explanation; and, perhaps, it is no wonder that the Exhibition galleries are almost deserted, while the side shows, such as the Swiss village, are crowded to excess. It is a pity that in connection with such an extensive undertaking there is not a theatre of popular science in which the men of light and leading of various nations might expound in attractive style the various sciences of which they are the masters. The British nation might have furnished a host of such exponents. The public would have flocked to see the manufacture of liquid and solid hydrogen, the photography of flying bullets, or the vagaries of a soap bubble.

There is, however, one exception to the failure of the management to include the popularisation of science in their programme, of which the next notice treats.

The Great Paris Telescope.—Undoubtedly, to the scientific the central attraction of the Paris Exhibition will be the enormous telescope which few astronomers of note will fail to visit, and which, while serving as a means of popularising the study of the heavenly bodies cannot fail to add most considerably to the advance of astronomical research.

The most detailed article that has yet appeared on the subject is that of Sir Norman Lockyer, published in *Nature*, December 21st last, and those who require full information on all vital points of the telescope cannot do better than peruse that excellent description.

There has been no little misunderstanding as to the actual distance within which the moon's surface is brought through the great lenses, and the title of the exhibit, "*La lune à une metre*," does not tend to make the actual claims of the instrument more clear to the public. The truth appears to be that the moon will appear to the observer looking through the telescope as if it was only 67 kilometres away from us. It has been calculated that at this distance an object one metre square would be visible. Hence the exaggeration as to the capabilities of the magnifying powers.

At one time it was thought that it might be possible to construct such a telescope on the reflecting principle, with a reflector

of 10 feet diameter. This idea, however, had to be abandoned, as the glass industry has not yet advanced to the position to be able to grapple with the problem of 10 feet reflectors, and it would be necessary in such a case to make them of porcelain with a glass surface. It was, therefore, decided that the Paris telescope should be a refractor whose discs for the object glasses are 1.25 metres in diameter. The instrument is mounted in front of a siderostat, the mirror being two metres in diameter. This method of mounting the telescope is in reality the carrying out of the suggestion of Sir Norman Lockyer, made years ago in France and subsequently enlarged upon by the same astronomer in two Cantor lectures at the Society of Arts, on "Some New Optical Instruments," in 1884.

Though, undoubtedly, the greatest credit has to be given to the French astronomers and instrument makers for the production of the telescope, it redounds much to the credit of the British nation that the suggestion of its greatest living astronomer as to the construction of so large a telescope has been adopted.

M. Despret, the Director of the Jeumont Glass Works, has been entrusted with the production of the siderostat mirror. An advantage of the siderostat appears to be that it avoids all the expenses of a dome, it secures a higher degree of stability, and saves the observers much fatigue and loss of time. The details of the siderostat is thus described by Sir Norman Lockyer :

"The apparatus constituting the instrument termed a siderostat comprises a pedestal of cast iron, the north part of which supports the polar axis, and the south part the mirror with its frame. The cast iron pedestal, 8 metres long by 8 metres high, is furnished with six screws which fit in sockets fixed to the stone base 1.70 metres high. The north part of the pedestal supports the polar axis with its divided and driving circles. This axis is driven by a clockwork movement by means of a tangent screw. At the lower end of the polar axis a fork is fixed, to which are adjusted the pivots of the declination circle. The toothed declination wheel is set in motion at the foot of the instrument by a handle placed beside that one which produces movement in right ascension ; both of these are near the two telescopes which serve for the reading of the two circles. The mirror with its cell has a total weight of 6,700 kilogrammes. This cell of cast steel is furnished with two pivots ; to the back is fixed the directing rod. The interior of the cell is covered entirely

with felt, in such a way that the mirror has no point of contact with the metal. Being supported by as great a surface as possible, all deformations are avoided. The mirror and its cell are kept in equilibrium by a system of levers and counterpoises; the pivots rest on rollers adjusted at the top of the frame, which permits a circular movement by a vertical shaft and a system of independent rollers between two rails. The base of this frame floats in a cavity two metres in diameter on the south side of the pedestal, containing sufficient mercury to float nine-tenths of the total weight of the movable part, which weighs 15,000 kilogrammes. The clockwork movement is set in action by a weight of 100 kilos. The total weight of the siderostat is 45,000 kilogrammes."

The production of this plane mirror was the chief difficulty of the whole undertaking, but it has been most successfully accomplished. Its casting required the inauguration of a special furnace at the Jeumont Works, holding twenty tons of glass. The mould was brought on a waggon near the furnace to receive the melted glass coming from the crucible. When full this mould was taken to the annealing oven and walled up, the cooling lasting a whole month. The annealing of the glass was a most critical and difficult operation. In fact, only two out of twelve discs were successful.

When ready a special train was deemed necessary to convey the precious specimen to Paris, and its conveyance to its final resting-place at the Exhibition was undertaken at night.

M. Mantois has cast the discs of the object glasses, while their figuring, polishing, and mounting are the work of M. Gautier. The casting of the glass for the plano-convex lenses was an elaborate process, which called for the strictest care, exactitude, and patience. During the heating period specimens of glass are frequently taken out and their purity scrutinised with a lens. When several specimens are found of the desired purity the temperature of the crucible is reduced, and when the glass has sufficiently thickened the crucible is opened and the surface skinned. After this the glass is stirred and the cooling allowed to continue for some six hours, until the glass emits a well defined sound when struck with an iron bar. Then comes the annealing process which lasts from four to six weeks. During the cooling process the glass inside the crucible is broken into pieces of different sizes from which it is necessary to select one of the size required to produce a 792 pound flint lens.

The block of glass from which such a lens is evolved must weigh 1,300 pounds. When the desired fragment is found, it is subjected to an exhaustive examination and purifying process. Then the block is enclosed in a mould of refractory clay and placed in a furnace and heated to 900 degrees Centigrade so that it becomes slowly softened into the form of the mould. After being slowly annealed the glass is taken from the mould and examined over again. If there are still defects in the glass the process has to be done over again until the glass appears pure and perfect enough to form plano-convex lens.

But when cast only a part of the work connected with the object lenses was completed : they were then given to the skilful hands of M. Gautier for figuring and polishing.

The telescopic tube, which is composed of twenty-four pieces, is made of sheet steel two millimetres thick. It weighs 21,000 kilogrammes and is 1.50 metres in diameter. The tube has cast iron supports resting on stone pillars. These supports move on rails fixed to the pillars.

The carriage on which the object glasses are mounted moves on rails in such a manner that they can easily be conveyed to the end of the tube. Each lens is adjusted in a separate cell.

The eyepiece is provided with the following arrangements whereby the observer will be independent of the apparent motion of the heavens and is enabled to follow the object in right ascension and declination.

The tube which carries the eyepiece rests on four wheels moving on rails. It is attached to the tube by an adjusting screw 1.50 metres long which is used for focussing.

Inside the tube there is another adjusting screw 1.20 metres diameter, which is rotated by clockwork. This is for carrying the adapter for the eyepiece end which is made so as to slide in two rectangular directions.

The eyepiece end carries either an eyepiece, a micrometer, a photographic plate, or a projecting lens.

The Aeronautical Section.—The French Aeronautical exhibits in the Paris Exhibition are chiefly remarkable for their historic interest. It is true that there is one exhibit of a large soaring machine of modern type, with motor and propellers, one of the first exhibits ready in the chaos of the opening days. To the uninitiated its huge wings may have sensational

interest, but it is destined to bring a smile to the face of every aeronautical expert, who can only regard it as an advertisement for the exhibition of a light motor. But the relics of the past exhibited are intensely interesting to the student of aeronautics, who has only to view them to realise how ardently the pastime of ballooning has been followed in the land that was the birth-place of balloons. The collection of curiosities exhibited by Mr. Albert Tissandier is sufficient to show what an impression the first balloon ascent made on the public mind. Notable amongst Mr. Tissandier's collection is a unique series of dinner service plates, on which are painted pictures of the heroes of the air. There is, for instance, depicted on one the ascent of Charles, who invented the gas balloon, from the gardens of the Tuilleries, and above the balloon is inscribed the words: "La Folie du Siècle." But still more interesting are the relics connected with the use of the balloon during the Siege of Paris for carrying passengers and letters. There is the balloon *La Volta*, in which M. Janssen escaped from Paris during the siege, with its equipment of scientific instruments. In showing this to the writer Mr. Albert Tissandier told the story how M. Janssen had been offered his escape by the Prussians, and suggested that he might wish to go on a scientific expedition, but he refused their generous offer, and said that he preferred to escape of his own free will in his own balloon. It may be mentioned that M. Janssen is the President of the forthcoming International Aeronautical Congress in connection with the Paris Exhibition.

There is also on view the commemoration medals which were bestowed on the sixty-five aeronauts who left Paris by balloon, and a graphic picture representing the making of balloons and training of aeronauts in the disused railway stations. An interesting though sad relic is the valve of the balloon *Arago*, in which MM. l'Hoste and Mangot lost their lives in attempting to cross the Channel.

But these historic relics do not only represent the science of aeronautics in connection with the Exhibition. A most excellent programme of balloon competitions has been arranged to take place in the Bois de Vincennes, commencing on June 17th and terminating on September 30th. Substantial money prizes are to be awarded to the victors in the several competitions, which include a wide range of subjects. There are to be competitions for height attained, distance, gas retaining capacity, balloon photographs, kite flying, and so forth. Aeronautical enterprise

should be much stimulated by the prize of 10,000 francs offered by a member of the Paris Aero Club to the aeronaut of any nationality who, either in a balloon or flying machine, starts from the grounds of the Aero Club at Longchamps and makes a journey round the Eiffel Tower, a distance of six and a half miles, returning to the starting place within half an hour, the utmost limit allowed. In view of the competition for this tempting prize, the Exhibition competitions should for practice sake alone attract a large number of aeronauts from all parts of the world.

The International Aeronautical Congress to be held at Meudon in September, under the Presidency of M. Janssen, is another proof of the activity of the French nation in endeavouring to solve the problem of the navigation of the air. In the prospectus that has been issued and sent out to the aeronautical experts of every nation several important subjects connected with aeronautics are suggested for discussion, and it will be seen that so varied are the needs of the balloon that its perfection demands the interest and attention of most branches of science. The balloon needs the aid of the chemist to provide it with a hydrogen-proof varnish; it needs the electrician to devise a means of protecting it from lightning when captive. It needs the dexterity of the engineer to devise for it exceedingly light motors, and to invent some yet unknown means of better regulating its vertical motions. It needs the meteorologist to map out aerial currents for its course, and thus to solve the most natural means of its successful navigation. It is to be hoped that men of science, distinguished in their different sciences, though they may never aspire to be aeronauts, will attend this important congress and bestow their genius, intensified in the light of international discussion, towards the improvement of the balloon and make it a still more useful instrument of aerial research.

The Jubilee of the Royal Meteorological Society.—On April 3rd the Royal Meteorological Society celebrated its jubilee. The festivities in connection with the event consisted of a commemoration meeting at the rooms of the Institution of Civil Engineers, a *conversazione* at the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours, an excursion of the Fellows to Greenwich, where they were shown over the Royal Observatory by the Astronomer Royal, and a dinner at the Westminster Palace Hotel. But the Society's gala week was tempered by a

touch of sadness. Only a few weeks before the Society was mourning the loss of Mr. G. J. Symonds, who for so many years had acted as its Honorary Secretary, and who was one of the most arduous workers for the advance of meteorological science. A short while before his death Mr. Symonds had resigned his post of Honorary Secretary, which he had fulfilled so honourably, and he was, in view of the jubilee, elected President of the Society. But owing to a paralytic stroke he could not retain the post, though up to almost the last he worked for the Society and prepared an address giving a brief history of the Society. This address was read to the commemoration meeting, with certain additions, by Dr. Williams.

The first British Meteorological Society was founded in 1823, but it had a short life. Another society dealing with the same science was founded in 1836, but this too was not destined to survive. It was on April 3rd, 1850, that the present vigorous Society was founded by Mr. James Glaisher, who of all living meteorologists has done most to extend the sphere of meteorology, for it was Dr. Glaisher who first carried the meteorological observatory far beyond the mountain top in the car of a balloon and laid the foundations of what will doubtlessly become the most important branch of meteorology—the meteorology of the upper atmosphere. The Society was at first named the British Meteorological Society; but in 1866, when a Royal Charter was obtained, the name was changed to The Meteorological Society. In 1882 permission was received from the Queen to prefix the title Royal to the Society. The Society had no home of its own until 1872, when a room was engaged in Great George Street, but it was for some time cramped at those premises, and often the increasing work of the Society entailed the securing of additional accommodation. The Society now boasts of ample accommodation at its new premises in Victoria Street. By the will of the late Mr. Symonds a valuable bequest has been made to the Society in the shape of an extensive meteorological library. He has also left to it a sum of £200.

The usefulness of the work of the Society is so well known that it need not be enlarged upon. Its most important transactions have from time to time been chronicled in this REVIEW.

At the commemoration meeting delegates from various other scientific societies delivered congratulatory addresses. That on behalf of the Royal Society was delivered by Professor J. J. Thomson.

It is pleasant to be able to record a strain of international interest in the proceedings, for Professor O. G. Hellman presented an address from the German Meteorological Society.

Scientific recreation was amply afforded at the conversazione in the evening. There was an exhibition of meteorological instruments and some choice lantern demonstrations of meteorological and kindred subjects. Mr. F. C. Porter showed the growth of the eclipse of the shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe by the shadow of the earth. Colonel H. M. Saunders showed photographs of clouds, and Mr. Marriott, the Assistant Secretary of the Society, displayed photographs of various meteorological phenomena, which are so much elucidated by the modern developments of photography.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Siamese Malay States.—The Cambridge Exploring Expedition, under the leadership of Mr. Skeat (of Christ's College), has done valuable scientific and geographical work in investigating a little-known portion of the Malay Peninsula. From Bangkok they proceeded to Singora, and began by an exploration of the Inland Sea, which was found to measure about 60 miles by 20. A visit to the Bird's Nest Islands was followed by one to an isolated tribe believed to be of Indian origin, and by an examination of the now rare custom of tree-burial. In this manner of disposal of the dead, the body, with the heels generally higher than the head, is exposed in a cigar-shaped wrapper or shell of lath suspended between two trunks or branches. The flesh is allowed to decay, and the bones when clean are collected and burnt. Among the strange articles of diet served up on this journey are enumerated red ants, toads, bee-grubs, and a species of cicada. The latter are captured at night, when the natives standing round a fire clap their hands, and thus attract the insects which settle on them in numbers. A couple of young leopard or panther cubs having been picked up by the party, the difficulty of rearing them was solved by finding a Siamese woman to act as foster-mother to them, having, as she said, already acted in the same capacity to a baby bear. The limestone caves near Biserat, one of which contains a colossal figure of Buddha, 100 feet in length, were thoroughly explored, and an overland route followed for about 200 miles, as far as Kuala Aring, in a journey performed on elephants, rafts, and boats. From this new base Mr. Skeat started with six Malays on a five weeks' tour to explore the Tahan Mountain, 10,000 feet high, the loftiest in the Malay Peninsula. He, however, sighted another called the "Coffin Mountain," which seems nearly to vie with it, and whose existence had not before been recorded. After spending about two months in the principal towns of Kelantan and Trengganu, the expedition proceeded by steamer to Penang, and

Mr. Skeat went to Kedah to study the aboriginal jungle tribes of the interior, while the other members of the party made exploratory trips in other directions.

Climate and Scenery of the Hindu Kush.—Colonel Durand ("The Making of a Frontier." London: John Murray. 1899), in his account of his marches and counter-marches through the Indo-Kashmirian frontier regions, gives many incidental glimpses of the character of the country and people. The main feature of the former is the almost total absence of rainfall below 8,000 feet, rendering the inhabitants of the lower lowlands entirely dependent on irrigation for sustenance. Between 8,000 and 12,000 feet the march will lie through a grassy and wooded country with abundant rainfall, above that zone are barren hillsides, where the juniper is the last specimen of vegetation, while the perennial snows mask everything above 13,000 feet or 14,000 feet. If the road runs at or near the valley level, it shows only bare and arid rocks with an occasional glimpse of a distant snow-peak or a green patch of forest high up on the mountain side, except where a verdant oasis of terraced fields comes in view with a village nestling amid its luxuriant gardens and orchards. The scene of cultivation is invariably one of the alluvial fans pushed out into the main valley by the tributary streams, which carry down immense quantities of mud and silt when swollen by the melting snow. Water diverted from the upper levels is carefully distributed over this slope of deposit, laboriously built up in terraces by a series of retaining walls, so as to derive the maximum of benefit from the precious liquid. The mud-flows which are the cause of the alluvial fan formation, come down the hills with such swiftness and volume that man and beast are lost if overtaken by them in a narrow gorge. The great flood of the Indus in 1841 was due to a different cause, a landslip, probably the result of an earthquake, in which a whole hillside to a height of about 4,000 feet was precipitated into the valley near Bunji, completely closing it up. The level of the river was raised nearly 1,000 feet, the Bunji plain was turned into a lake, and the Giljit river dammed up for 30 miles above its confluence. The dam held for months, and then suddenly gave way, releasing the impounded stream which rushed down in a solid wall of water. In the Indus Valley there was immense devastation, but little loss of life, the people being

warned in time, but near Attock a portion of the Sikh army, encamped practically in the bed of the river, was swept away. In native phraseology, "As an old woman with a wet cloth sweeps away an army of ants, so the river swept away the army of the Maharaja." Traces of the ruin it left behind are still visible all down the valley, where the remains of the great dam can be traced in a group of shattered hillocks. A pile of driftwood deposited by the river in one spot furnished a supply of firing for over fifty years for every traveller, shepherd, or hunter who passed that way, and was still unexhausted a few years ago.

Folk Lore in Chitral.—It is curious to find how closely the stories of fairies in the Hindu Kush resemble those current in Europe. Colonel Durand struck a vein of legendary lore one night by the camp fire and has recorded some of its marvels for the benefit of his readers. The banshee is paralleled in the chorus of fairy lamentation heard round the towers of Shoghot Fort ten or twelve days before one of the ruling family dies. One of their ancestors was fabled to have married a fairy and become a master of the lore which gives command over this mythical world. The fairies have a weekly rendezvous for prayers at a spot which is avoided after nightfall in consequence, and those who have seen them flying through the air to it aver that they are exactly like human beings, but exquisitely beautiful and mostly dressed in white. Like their western congeners, they occasionally carry off men, and one was extant who reported having lived with them for ten days and been pressed to marry a fairy bride and remain in fairyland. This, however, he refused to do, and was thereupon returned to his home none the worse. Like witches in these countries, they are said to ride the horses at night, and the animals are found in the morning unaccountably tired and with their manes tangled or knotted. Another occidental superstition is recalled by the story of a man who went shooting and shot at an ibex. A few days after a man of the village came limping up to him and asked him why he had shot him. The sportsman said he had only shot at an ibex, whereupon he replied that he was the ibex, and he is furthermore averred to be lame to this day. The fairies make themselves obnoxious in various ways, of which the principal is depriving people of their senses and carrying them off. They occasionally infest houses or villages, taking possession of them

and throwing stones at the inmates until duly exorcised on the intervention of the authorities. They are thought to be of all religions, like mortals, some Mohammedans, some Hindus, and are said to be at enmity with the demons and in great fear of them.

Foreign Trade with China.—The diplomatic correspondence between the United States and the European Powers in reference to freedom of trade within their respective spheres of interest in China has been published as a Parliamentary paper. In the communication addressed by Mr. Choate to Lord Salisbury he formulates the declaration to which he obtained the assent of France, Russia, Italy, Japan and Germany, under the three following heads: 1. That it (the Power addressed) will in nowise interfere with any Treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China. 2. That the Chinese Treaty Tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within such "spheres of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government. 3. That it will levy no higher harbour dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any such port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher charges over railways built, controlled or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens of other nationalities transported through such "spheres" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances. In the answers received from the various Powers it may be noted that while France, Italy and Japan accept the United States' proposals *sans phrases*, and Lord Salisbury does so contingently on its acceptance by other nations, the reply of Russia is rather a guarded assent to the principle of the declaration than an unqualified acceptance of it. Count Muravieff in his reply, while pointing out the retention of Talienwan as a free port as a proof of Russia's intention of maintaining the policy of the "open door," engages, indeed, that if it should be at any future time separated by a customs' barrier from other portions of the Russian sphere, the duties levied in the zone subject to the tariff would be imposed equally on all foreigners without distinction of nationality. But to the third clause of the declaration

proposed by the United States he makes no reference whatever, and carefully abstains from binding himself by that declaration as a whole. Russia is, therefore, as far as is shown by this correspondence, free to discriminate in favour of her own subjects, both in the matter of harbour dues and in that of railway charges on merchandise in transit through their sphere.

Irrigation in the Western Cape Colony.—Among the side-lights thrown by the war on the capabilities and future development of the South African Colonies is the picture drawn by a correspondent of the *Times* of the effect of irrigation in the outlying portions of Griqualand, lying west of the railway to Kimberley. Wealth of cattle and poverty of cultivation are the characteristics of the region between Hopetown and Upington, situated on the Griqualand side of the Orange River, and about 100 miles east of the German frontier. But this state of things is altered in those portions of the district where the river has been tapped, in order to irrigate a portion of its valley. Advantage has been taken of the steep fall of the river to construct a canal, or "furrow," as it is called, 15 miles in length, to lead its waters by gentler gradient through the plateau slopes and flat alluvial lands below the little town. Similar furrows have been constructed 40 miles further down, with the result that one seems, in the words of the correspondent, after leaving the bare monotony of the veldt, "to drop into a piece of the Rhone Valley, with its green luxuriant gardens and long rows of poplars." At Upington, before the furrow was made, meal cost £5 a bag, but corn and mealies now grow in abundance, and wheat was bought for the troops at 30s. a sack. At Prieska, where there is no irrigation, American corn has to be brought on waggons for 120 miles from the railway at De Aar, and in the intervening district where meat was only a few pence a pound, bread was 2s. a loaf. No fruit was to be had on the veldt, but in the irrigated districts the trees were loaded with golden apples, and a plum-coloured fruit called wine-apples, the same trees bearing fruit and blossom simultaneously. The oranges and lemons were, at the end of April, beginning to ripen, but the peaches had been gathered, and the vintage was over. Lucerne grows so freely that it can be cut ten times in the year. The Griquas, a race of Hottentot and Dutch half-castes, are a simple and child-like people, with

two weaknesses, brandy and indebtedness, but capable, the writer thinks, of being cultivated and improved. The Dutch farmers, though shrewd, are so ignorant, from their isolation on farms of 20,000 acres, far from railways or telegraphs, that one asked if England lay to the north of South Africa, and another quoted Scripture to prove that the earth was flat and the sun went round it.

Round about Kangchinjinga.—The tour of Mount Kangchinjinga, to give it what seems to be the latest version of its barbarously-sounding name, has recently been made by Europeans for the first time. A party organised by Mr. Douglas Freshfield started from Darjiling in September, 1899, with the object of filling the blank left in the circuit of the mountain between the recent routes of Mr. White, Political Officer in Independent Sikkim, on its eastern side, and that of Sir Joseph Hooker, in 1848, on the west. The chief of the expedition was accompanied by Mr. Garwood, F.R.G.S., and Signori Vittorio and Sella, and they had the services of Angelo Maquinaz, of the Val d'Aosta, and of Rinsing Khazi, a native explorer under the Indian Survey, who had already made the journey. Mr. Dover, the Road Inspector in Independent Sikkim, took charge of the troop of fifty Bhutia, Lepcha, and Nepaulese coolies. The early part of the track presented no difficulty, as it followed the pony path through the Upper Teesta Valley to Gyagong, on the Tibetan frontier; but when this track was left for the approach to the mountain, a way had to be cut through dense rhododendron jungle to the great north-eastern glacier, beside and over which the line of further advance lay. Three days of slow progress over the ice brought them near the foot of the mighty pile of cliffs and precipices that buttress up the north-eastern summit of the mountain. Here, at an altitude of 16,000 feet, they were overtaken by the storm which effected such damage in Darjiling, and the snow fell continuously for 40 hours, lowering the snow line by some 3,000 feet, and burying all the country to a depth of some feet. Retreat to the lower camp became a necessity, and even this was a matter of much toil and hardship. Although the storm was succeeded by four weeks of beautiful weather, it naturally increased the difficulty of the passes, from the greater depth of snow on them. The great ridge dividing Sikkim from Nepal and joining the mass of Kangchinjinga to the Tibetan plateau, was crossed by

the Jonsong La, a pass some 21,500 feet high, and very steep at the summit. A wonderful panorama of snow peaks, rising to a height of 24,000 feet and upwards, was visible from the first camp near the top of the pass, from which it took an arduous descent of two days over ice and glazed rock to reach the level of vegetation. Two relatively easy marches brought the party to Nepal, and the British frontier was gained after crossing three more ridges of about 15,000 feet high. In the course of the tour, which occupied seven weeks, about 75,000 feet or 14 miles of vertical height were ascended and descended.

From the Cape to Cairo.—Mr. Ewart S. Grogan, who has accomplished the journey across Africa in the line of its greater axis, detailed his experiences to the Royal Geographical Society at their evening meeting on Monday, April 30th. Passing briefly over the earlier part of the journey from Table Bay to Lake Tanganyika, he proceeded to describe the almost unknown portion of the continent traversed in following the Rusisi Valley to the shore of Lake Kivu. This sheet of water, whose ragged outline gives it an extent of coast very disproportionate to its area, is very deep, and contains neither crocodiles nor hippopotami. Small isolated hills, unconnected by intervening ridges, were thickly sprinkled over the adjacent country. The natives, collectively known as Wakunada, are divided into two classes—the Watusi and the Wahutu. The latter are the aborigines, who, subjugated by the former invaders from the north, now form a servile caste, supplying the ruling race with products of cultivation, such as grain or tobacco, while the upper class practise only pastoral and dairy industry. They introduced, however, in all probability the civilising influence traceable in the terracing of the hills for cultivation, in rudimentary attempts at irrigation, in the enclosure of villages and cultivated lands by hedges, and even in the formation of artificial reservoirs with side troughs for watering cattle. From paths rising sometimes to the top of eminences 1,500 feet above the lake, the latter was visible as a vast mirror-like expanse, dotted with a thousand islands, and suggestive by its superb scenery of a blend of Scotland, Japan, and the South Seas. At the north-east corner of the lake the scattered hills are exchanged for a gradual slope leading to the group of volcanic cones, of which two are still active, the others having been long extinct. Their slopes are covered with dense forest, penetrable only by elephants which

abound in its recesses. On the north of the lake is an extensive plain which is without water, owing to the porous nature of the soil. It maintains, nevertheless, a large population, who obtain the necessary element by tapping the stems of the banana palms. A trip to the supposed mountain, Mfumbiro, elaborately marked on maps with its height carefully stated, led to the discovery that it was purely imaginary, although accepted by British diplomacy in compensation for Mount Kilimanjaro, handed over to Germany in exchange.

The Headwaters of the Nile.—Mr. Grogan and his party followed the valley of the Rutchuro or Kako, which, as it flows into Lake Albert Edward, is the true source of the Albert Nile. That of the Victoria Nile is only 40 miles to the south, and the distance separating the two was crossed by the party in six days. The streams which rise so comparatively close together diverge, however, to a great distance, and enclose a large area of the interior of the continent before finally re-uniting to the north of Lake Albert into the mighty body of water that goes to join the Abyssinian Nile at Khartoum. The country between Lakes Kivu and Albert Edward is, in Mr. Grogan's opinion, the key to the whole geographical and geological problem of Africa. The Rusisi Valley for 60 miles was obviously part of the old lake-bed of Tanganyika, while the lower Rutchuru was another lake-bed only recently dried up. A gradual process of upheaval centering round the existing volcanoes lifted Lake Kivu and the adjoining area, while Mount Ruwenzori was the pivot of another disturbing movement on the north of Lake Albert Edward. Lake Ruisamba to the east, and the Semliki, also flowing through a series of marshes on the west, are extensions of the lacustrine region. The lake-like reach of the Nile, narrowing at the Dufie Rapids, before again expanding amid the swamps of the Rohl, Bahr-el-ghazal, Bahr-el-Jebel, and Bahr-ez-zeraf (compared by the speaker to a reed-grown sea) gave further indication of the former existence of a vast inland sea, or arm of the sea, of which the surviving African lakes are but the shrunken remnant. His idea seems to be that the volcanic upheaval of the regions named broke up this expanse of submersion and doubtless of internal drainage by starting the rivers on their course to the sea. The region round Lake Kivu certainly seems to be the centre of the drainage system of a vast area of Africa.

Natives and Elephants in Central Africa.—In the region of the Nile sources Mr. Grogan encountered natives of so brute-like an aspect that he is inclined to place them lower in the scale of humanity than any other race he met in Africa. The guide with difficulty induced one of them to come out from the shelter of the banana groves for the traveller's inspection, and he draws an unflattering picture of his short legs, long arms, and generally ape-like appearance. At Toro, in the British sphere, there were immense herds of elephants, and £25 was paid for a license to shoot them. Two were shot, but the Waganda, crossing the frontier, spoiled the sport by slaughtering as many as they pleased without paying anything. At Mboga the English traveller stayed three weeks hunting elephants, furnishing incidentally a vulture banquet to the Balegga, who, suffering at the time from famine caused by the drought, came in hundreds to devour the carcasses. Hacking away at them with knives and spears, men, women, and babies gorged themselves to repletion, and in two hours nothing was left of the great bulk save the bare ribs. From this scene of carnage the west bank of the Albert Nyanza was followed to Wadelai, and thence the Nile as far as Bohr. A tramp of 400 miles through unknown swamp finally brought Mr. Grogan within reach of British hospitality. After marching for the last ten days through a sun-burnt desert of baked mud, dry reed, and marabout storks, where the Bahr-ez-zeraf flowed between parallel mudbanks lined with crocodiles, he unexpectedly encountered Major Dunne (of Major Peake's sudd-cutting expedition), who was on a shooting excursion up that river. The rest of the journey from the Sobat to Cairo was a scene of "wild hospitality."

Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa.—A convention was signed in London, on May 19th, "for the preservation of wild animals, birds, and fish in Africa," on behalf of England, Germany, France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Belgium (for the Congo State). The zone to which it applies lies between the 20th degree of north latitude, and a line across the continent from the Zambesi Valley along the northern frontier of German South-West Africa to the Atlantic. Complete protection is extended to certain animals owing either to their rarity or usefulness by the prohibition to kill them under any circumstances. These are the secretary-bird, rhinoceros-birds, owls, and vultures;

the gorilla, giraffe, chimpanzee, mountain zebra, wild ass, white-tailed gnu, eland, and little Liberian hippopotamus. The next schedule consists of animals partially protected by the prohibition of their destruction when young. This list is composed of the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, zebras (other than the species already referred to), antelopes and gazelles, of which some species are singled out for especial care. The number of the animals of these species to be killed is also limited, as well as of other animals, such as various kinds of monkeys and small cats. Harmful animals, such as beasts and birds of prey (except vultures) are to be killed in such quantity to reduce their numbers within due limits. The establishment of reserves, or large areas within which game shall be altogether protected, except in so far as its destruction is authorised by the local authorities, is also agreed upon, and in order to secure the immunity of young elephants, their destruction is prohibited under severe penalties, and all tusks weighing less than five kilogrammes are liable to confiscation.

Nova et Vetera.

A DIARY OF AN OFFICER UNDER WILLIAM III.

THOMAS BELLINGHAM, the writer of this diary, was born about the year 1646. His father, Henry Bellingham, was a captain in a cavalry regiment in the army of the Parliament, and received from Cromwell a grant of lands in County Louth, which was confirmed afterwards by Charles II. He was a son of a Robert Bellingham, a cadet of the Bellinghams of Levens Hall in Westmoreland, who had a grant from James I. of the wardship and marriage of Dominic Trant, of County Kerry, in 1619. Henry Bellingham's brother was Sir Daniel Bellingham, first Lord Mayor of Dublin, created a baronet in 1666, which title became extinct at the death of his son, Sir Richard, in 1699, whose name occurs in the pages of this diary. Nothing is known of Thomas Bellingham's early life, except that he married in 1671, Abigail, daughter of William Handcock, of Twyford, ancestor of the Castlemaine family. His father died in 1676. His sister was married to Robert Bickerton, of Cantiluff, County Armagh, brother of Jane, Duchess of Norfolk, and she seems, from the diary, to have been resident in England.

His regiment being quartered at Preston, in Lancashire, during the years 1688 and 1689, brought Thomas Bellingham and his family to that town, where he had several Bellingham cousins, who, whatever their political principles were, received him with kindness and hospitality.

The head of the family, Alan Bellingham, of Levens, threw in his lot with James II., and went into exile with him, but his younger brother William, a barrister, seems to have been on the other side, and, with his sisters, Mrs. Patten and Mrs. Johnson, to have cordially welcomed the Irish relation.

Thomas Bellingham's life, as recorded in the diary at Preston, is much what we may suppose life to have been in a provincial town of that time. Supper parties, games of bowls, and cockfights were the chief amusements, with an

occasional visit to the playhouse. But the times were stirring ones, and important political events are cursorily mentioned which were making a change of history. To us who read them as history it may seem strange that Thomas Bellingham should have noted down so calmly events of such magnitude, but the diary is rather of the nature of a memorandum book, and the writer contents himself with putting down facts without any attempt to moralise. He received the news of the burning of his house by King James's troops with the equanimity of a stoic. Perhaps his account of the Battle of the Boyne is a slight exception; for once he is betrayed into enthusiasm when he remarks that, the "Dutch fought like angels." This part of the diary was made use of by Lord Macaulay, who in his history gives the "Bellingham MS. a place in the list of references. It was of value, for it indicated precisely where Duke Schomberg was killed.

Thomas Bellingham's exact relation to the King's army is not quite clear. He has been called "guide" and also "aide-de-camp" to William, and though he was undoubtedly "Colonel" afterwards, there is nothing in the diary to show his precise rank; but from various entries it is clear that William and Duke Schomberg consulted him previous to the Battle of the Boyne, and his knowledge of the country must have been valuable to them.

At any rate William's graciousness to him, which he particularly notes, argues the probability of his having been of practical use. The King not only was pleased to accept of a basket of cherries, but also left behind him as a remembrance his own case, containing four small bottles of spirits, which is preserved as an heirloom to the present day at Castle Bellingham. Thomas, or, as we may now call him, Colonel Bellingham, was further rewarded by being nominated High Sheriff of the County. He also represented it in Parliament for several years. His life seems to have been uneventful after his campaigns were over. He saw his only son Henry happily married in 1700. His house was rebuilt by a Dutch architect, and the demesne laid out in the fashion of the day. His portrait, by Jervas, hangs in the dining-room at Castle Bellingham, representing him with somewhat coarse features and a pronounced double chin. Finally he died on Friday, 15th September, 1721, aged 75, and was buried in a vault at Castle Bellingham, which, he says in a memorandum in an old bible, he caused to be made for himself and his parents.

Many allusions are made during the earlier portion of the diary to passing political events, when his regiment was quartered in Lancashire and when the discontent with the policy of King James was beginning to show itself openly, and when overtures were made by the *extreme* (?) Protestant party to the Prince of Orange to attack his father-in-law and deprive him of his throne, and to reign in his stead.

The description he gives of various noblemen and officers of distinction deserting King James and attaching themselves more or less openly to the fortunes of the Dutch King is interesting and noteworthy, as also the constant allusion to the strong Protestant feeling that was prevalent throughout England at that period.

Then, as now, Protestant ministers of all denominations who refused to repeat the shibboleths of the time and were more liberal-minded than their colleagues, were denounced as Jesuits in disguise, and a very strong anti-Irish feeling was prevalent. The term "Papist" seems to have been universally used to designate those who had adhered to the Old Faith, much as the term "Romanist" is in vogue at the present day.

In fact, the general situation does not seem to differ very materially from that in 1688, though doubtless there is now more tolerance.

The principal thing, indeed, that strikes the reader when perusing this diary, is the persistent and bitter hatred of the Irish on account of their religious faith, a hatred which, though not to be found in the same form or probably to the same extent in the present day, is yet existent, and which discloses itself when any great question arises that directly or indirectly concerns Ireland and the spread of Catholicism.

To this day the word Irishman and Catholic is identical amongst many of the lower classes in England, and I have frequently heard English Protestants of those classes speak of their Catholic countrymen as Irish because they were Catholic. The same unreasoning prejudice against the Church and against the Irish as representing the Church came prominently to the front at the time of the passing of the Union, Catholic Emancipation, the Disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Communion, the abortive Home Rule Bill of Mr. Gladstone, and it is noteworthy at the present day with regard to the important question of a Catholic University in Ireland, though the Leader of the House of Commons has spoken so strongly and

courageously on its behalf, even at the risk of his personal popularity.

Many of the evils that exist in Ireland at the present day may be traced to the results that flowed from the legislation of William III. and the legacy left by the dominant faction, a legacy that tended to embitter the relations of the two people, encouraged a controversial spirit, and treated the conquered people as serfs and helots in their own land. Since then the ruling authorities in England—whether Jacobites or Williamites, Whigs or Tories, Conservatives or Liberals—have as a rule legislated for Ireland, not for her benefit, but to suit the exigencies of existing parties, and hardly any minister of the Crown, with the exception of Mr. Arthur Balfour, the present Leader of the House of Commons, has ever even proposed to advocate a measure simply and solely for the benefit of that country, regardless of party.

It is interesting in this diary to note the allusions to the Dutch and Danish clergy, and the criticisms on their form of worship, as it would seem to indicate that at that period members of the State Church of England considered they had more in common with continental Protestantism, whether of the Lutheran or Calvinist section, than with the Old Faith.

The sermon is always spoken of as the principal feature of worship, and the words of the preacher criticised; but the administration of the Sacrament, though it is once or twice alluded to as "The Holy Eucharist," was apparently of rare occurrence. The allusion to King William III. being wounded in the shoulder the day before the Battle of the Boyne is an interesting fact, as also the allusion to the deaths of Duke Schomberg and Dr. Walker during the battle; the writer, of course, being an enthusiastic partisan of the Dutch.

This diary, which ends somewhat abruptly—September 12th, 1690—is entirely in the handwriting of Colonel Thomas Bellingham, and has been carefully preserved by the family as an heirloom, together with the casket of wine presented to him by the king.

H. B.

NOVA ET VETERA.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF
COLONEL THOMAS BELLINGHAM,

OF CASTLE BELLINGHAM,

During the years 1688-90, including the period of the Battle of the Boyne when he acted as guide and A.D.C. to King William III. The original of which is in the possession of Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart.

*August 1st, 1688, Preston:—*A fair day. The Duke of Somerset came to this town, upon whom the Mayor and Corporation waited in their formalities, and gave him a noble banquet and wine, and made him and Mr. Cholmondeley and two other gentlemen free of the Corporation. I was invited with Colonel Rawstoune to sup with him where we had some discourses about a Parliament.

*2nd:—*A fair day, R. Rochefort* and Mr. Ludlow came here, after dinner we went to the marsh and fowled, and at night were at Rigby's with several gentlemen of the town.

*3rd:—*A fair day, we went to Lancaster and called at Garsten.†

*4th:—*A fair day, we went over Cartmell Sands to Levens‡ and found the sands boggy and hazardous, we reached Levens before dinner, after we went to ride a buck, but he broke out of the park, from thence we came to the ford, but got no fish, we shot a fat buck.

*5th:—*A hot day, we went to Hearsam§ Church and heard Mr. Ridley preach, he and the schoolmaster Green came to dinner with us, in the evening we all walked into the park which is very pleasant.

*6th:—*A hot day, we rode to Hearsam Head and viewed the fine country about, went to the ford, saw fish taken

* This Rochefort was brother-in-law of the writer, Speaker of Irish House of Commons and afterwards Lord Chief Baron.

† Garstang

‡ Levens Hall, near Kendal, a celebrated place famous for its yew-trees and gardens, now in possession of Captain Jocelyn Bagot, M.P., but then in possession of the Bellingham family. The last Bellingham who owned Levens was an Alan, who squandered the estate and finally went into exile with King James II., when the place came into the possession of the Grahams. The younger branch of the Bellingham family who were Republicans and had gone to Ireland during the Commonwealth were given by Cromwell the lands in Co. Louth. now called Castle Bellingham, which grant was confirmed by King Charles.

§ Now Heversam, in which parish Levens is situated.

several ways, after dinner bowled with several of the neighbours, one Sweetman a youth of good fortune dined with us.

7th :—Some rain this morning, we rode and saw the colts, after dinner we went to Kendal where we were handsomely entertained by Mrs. North and her son.

8th :—Much rain this morning, we hunted an outlyer and brought him into the park, and killed him after seeing admirable sport, both by land and water, we bowled all the afternoon.

9th :—A fair day, we dined at Crooklands, saw Farrington, drank a bowl of punch and came home in good time.

10th :—A fair but windy day, we left Levens about 8 in the morning, dined at Lancaster, called at Garsten, and reached Preston between 8 and 9.

16th :—Much rain in the afternoon. Mrs. Patten was married this day to Sir Thomas Stanley. I saw a farce called "The Devil and the Pope."

19th :—Some showers, Mr. Birch fell so ill in the church after prayers, that he was forced to go out and Mr. Taylor of Ormskirk went into the pulpit and preached an excellent sermon, a Scotch man preached in the afternoon, Nabby* and I walked to the boathouse and supped with my cousin Patten.†

26th :—Much rain in the morning, after dinner one Shirley a raw young fellow preached, we had this day the Bishop of Rochester's letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners desiring to be excused his attendance at the Board.

29th :—A fair day, most of the town are gone to Lancaster Assizes, my cousin and I bowled with cousin Johnson† and others.

30th :—A very wet morning, in the afternoon we drank my cousin Patten's farewell at cousin Johnson's

* Nabby, the person thus referred to, was Abigail Handcock, of the family of Castlemaine in Ireland, wife of the writer of this diary.

† Cousin Patten and Cousin Johnson were Agnes and Mary Bellingham, sisters of William Bellingham and Alan, the last proprietor of Levens Hall, and had married William Patten and Alexander Johnson respectively.

September 2nd :—A fair day, the Vicar preached and administered the Holy Eucharist, in the evening walked.

3rd :—A fair day, but much rain at night, J. Wright and Judge Jenner came here from Lancaster Assizes.

4th :—A fair day, we waited on the Mayor to the Judges, I dined at Mr. Hodskinson's with young Parker, there came in Mr. Cheetham and Weddall both lawyers and very pleasant free men.

5th :—A rainy day, we bowled and dined at the Marsh, and at night I gave my cousin Patten his welcome home at Rigby's.

6th :—Some rain, we dined at my cousin Johnson's on a pasty of venison, and at night were handsomely treated at my cousin Patten's at a bowl of punch, there was with us Sir Thomas Stanley, Windley Lemon Chaddock, et.

10th :—A wet day, I dined at Penwortham,* where we had a noble entertainment, there were Sir Thomas Stanley and several of this town, and Mrs. Betty Bannister and the Widow Tildesley with a sweet little boy her son.

11th :—A fair day, I was with my cousins most of the day, here was the Lord Brandon great interest making for Parliament men.

17th :—A fair day, this morning there was a council held here about chosing Burgesses for this place, and it was carried to elect Mr. Fleetwood and Sir Richard Standish.

23rd :—Much rain, we went to hear a Quaker preach but were disappointed.

24th :—A fair day, we bowled, Mr. Rishton gave me an account of the Quaker, his name is Scarsfield, he pretends to be a doctor, a dangerous seditious fellow, and not without some suspicion of being a Jesuit, all his relations are R. Catholics, he said there was a plot discovered of the Bishop's keeping confederacy with Holland for raising disturbances in England, he pretended to have an interest at Court and to have an influence in electing Burgesses for this corporation. He and Tompson the Regulator were much together, at

* The seat of the Rawstounes afterwards, but then of the Fleetwoods.

night the Colonel treated us at the Anchor where W. B., Mr. Houghton and Langton were very merry.

25th:—A very wet day, we had the King's declaration for further assuring the rights of the Church of England, and for quieting elections for parliament men. I walked with D. Chaddock to Penwortham where we dined.

26th:—Some rain, here was a bull baiting, the bull broke lose and fell down Mr. Langton's cellar stairs, and broke open the door, and had like to have killed 2 children.

28th:—A fair day, we had the news of the Dutch designing to invade England with a great force of horse and foot, and 60 sail of ships to come into the north. I suppt at cousin Patten's.

29th:—A very wet afternoon. I dined with the mayor Sir Richard Standish et. at the Mitre.

30th:—Some rain, Mr. Gregory preached in the afternoon.

October 1st:—Some rain, I dined with the mayor.

2nd:—A fair day, I went to Liverpool, I met T. Springham and T. Armitage and had Dr. Richmond with me at supper, and one Robison an impertinent surgeon who came lately from Jamaica.

5th:—A very wet day, Mr. Winckley the new Mayor elected and sworn, he took the oaths and subscribed against the solemn league and covenant, the bailiffs and serjeants swore likewise, we went with the new mayor where we were handsomely entertained, I went after to see Mr. Kennion who showed me Lord Derby's letter, wherein was an account of the King's kindness to him, and desires of his speedy coming to London; this day and yesterday were the quarter sessions here, the Lord Justices were not so haughty as formerly upon the news of the King's great civility and condescension to the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other Bishops; we had news of the restoring the charter of London and great kindnesses to the Church of England, and that the Duke of Ormonde is to go Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

11th:—A fair day, we had an account of the Prince of Orange's speech to the States, that he went to reign or die, if he reigned he would be their friend, if he died, he would die their humble servant; this was in the public news as also that there was written over Sir William William's

door "*Quos Jupiter vult perdere, hos dementat, si populus vult decipi decipiat pro honore 7 Episcoporum O Fenestra!*" We visited the old mayoress Mrs. Rigby who was not well, and at night drank 3 cans of Ratcliff's.

12th:—A fair day, this is St. Wilfrids at which time the new mayor enters into his office, the old mayor delivered him the staff in the church and after some small compliments to each other we went to the new mayor's to dinner, where we were very nobly entertained and came home early.

13th:—Some rain, here came an express for the General.

16th:—A fair day, we had news that the Dutch fleet were seen off the Dogger sands, here came the Lord Molineux and most of the gentlemen of the county, they gave out commissions, the old Deputies refused, in the afternoon I walked to Walton.

17th:—A fair day, here came a party of Scots of near 2,000 which were part of the regiment of Guards, Colonel Buchan's regiment and Colonel Worthing's. I saw Captain Cunningham, we had 3 captains quartered with us all very good men and Protestants. I sat up late and drank hard with them.

21st.—Much rain last night, this day brought the news of the Earl of Derby's being made Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire and Lancashire, for which the bells rung most of the day. I was ill, and went not to church in the morning.

22nd:—Much rain last night, I took physic and am much better of my cold, here came some Irish foot of Hamilton's.

23rd:—A wet day, no news of the Dutch, the Irish marched away, they belonged to one Mr. Guire and Rolston. I supt at Colonel Rawstorne's.

27th:—Very violent rain and hail, at night I was with Sir Edward Chisnall, Mr. Fleetwood at the Anchor, I laid a bottle of sack with Dr. Lee that the siege before Phillipbrough was raised before this day. William Bellingham and Mr. Hibbon came to town.

30th:—A fair day, William Bellingham went for

London; I sent 6 guineas by him to my sister, Mrs. Bickerton; there passed a challenge between Mr. Patten and Mr. Houghton, but met not.

31st :—A fair day, I went early this morning to Walton, where I found Mr. Houghton ready to come forth to meet Mr. Patten who wrote to him the night before, I disposed him for a reconciliation and he came to town. I brought Patten to Tirlagh's and fully reconciled them, we met again at night and drank a bottle, we had an account from Yorkshire that guns were heard, and a meteor seen.

November 1st :—A very fair day, it being my birthday I treated some friends and at night I was in Mr. Piggott's room. I gave Mr. Hebson half a crown to receive 4 for it, if the Dutch invaded us before twelfth day next.

4th :—A fair day, high East wind, the Holy Eucharist was celebrated and I received.

5th :—A moist day, Mr. Piggott and I walked to Walton, the anniversary* was kept here with much modesty by prayers, ringing of bells and few bonfires.

6th :—A fair day. I had an account of the Dutch being seen between Dover and Calais on Saturday last, at one o'clock, steering towards the West of England; this day I assigned my bill with Mr. William Clayton and received 20 £ of him in money, and 30 £ from Mr. Cottam, and notes from Mr. Clayton of 30 £ on demand.

9th :—A wet day, we received the news of the Dutch landing at Dartmouth, Torbay and Exmouth in the West of England on Monday last.

10th :—A fair day but cloudy, in the afternoon I was with Mr. Fleetwood and others at the Mitre. I met a hot man at the coffee-house who inveighed bitterly against the Prince of Orange.

11th :—A fair day, we had the news of the Dutch confirmed, and that they were gone to Exeter. Mr. Chaddock received a letter from an unknown hand with much private news in it.

13th :—A hard frost, the bag of Preston was forgotten at Knutsford, but came in about 5 in the evening, and brought an account that the Prince of Orange was possessed of Exeter, and had above 20,000 strong; there is

* Guy Fawkes' Day.

some talk of accomodation; Mr. Chaddock received another letter from the unknown hand.

14th:—A very hard frost, I walked with the Colonel to Penwortham and dined there and came home early.

15th:—The frost thaws, several of the town went to the funeral of Sir Thomas Clifton's only son, and Robert Rigby's wife was buried here, I was with Mr. Walmesley who preached a very ingenious funeral sermon.

16th:—A dry day, several of the town went to meet the curate who brought home his wife; the news was that several had gone to the King; at night I was with Lieutenant Stanley

17th:—Some frost and very dry, I was with Mr. Rishton's friends, after I was with Mr. Fleetwood and others, and we had an account given by Mr. Clifton, Stanley and Laban, that the Lord Delamere was risen, and gathering men at Manchester, and about 9 at night we had it confirmed by one Hugh Gormy a carrier who goes from this town to Manchester, who said that he saw the Lord himself at the head of 60 horse, and that it was reported that several of the town would rise with him.

18th:—A very cold dry day, our news that the Lord Lovelace was apprehended at Cirencester with 13 more after having made a sharp resistance and killed Major Levinge and his son of the militia, that several gentlemen are joined Lord Delamere and that he designs for Yorkshire.

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20th:—A great thaw, we had an account of Lord Cornbury's revolt with 3 regiments of horse and dragoons to the Prince of Orange.

21st:—Much snow and then a thaw, the Earl of Derby came to this town about 2 of the clock, he was with the militia officers that afternoon, at night he was treated by the mayor, I sup't there and sat up till 5 in the morning, some justices were sworn, but Mr. Bradill refused, an express came to my Lord about 2 to suppress the Lord Delamere.

22nd:—A very wet day, my Lord dined and was accompanied by several towards Wiggan.

23rd:—Some wet this morning, here came an express from the Lord Derby to Colonel Rawstorne to bring all the regiment to Wiggan, that his Lordship had received information that there were designs against his life, and that some men were sent to apprehend him, and therefore

commanded all the haste imaginable to come to secure his person ; I was let blood to-day for the pain in my shoulder which was very violent.

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25th :—A very wet day, I sweat and was visited in the evening by the mayor and several others, a stranger preached.

26th :—A fair day, Captain Piggott's and Rigby's company visited the market-place, I was at Rigby's with Dr. Lee and others and supt and played at cards at my cousin Jonson's.

27th :—A frost, we had an account of York being seized by Lord Danby, Dunblane and Fairfax, and that the militia had joined them. I was at night with the mayor, Captain Rigby and others.

28th :—A frost, I dined with Mr. Fleetwood Parker and several others, and at night was with Richard Percival of Manchester.

29th :—A frost, we had an account of the desertion of Prince George, Duke of Ormonde, and Grafton, Lords Churchill and Arran, Colonel Berkeley and several others, I supt at the Mitre with Dr. Lee.

30th :—A frost, Dean Ward was here, he told me of the discourse between Dr. Owens and one Lancaster at Prescott, about the birth of the Prince of Wales, which a woman overheard, and that it was a shame and nothing in it.

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December 2nd :—A dry cold day, I was not at church in the morning, but heard the Vicar preached a very factious sermon, the curate made a good sermon in the afternoon.

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4th :—A cold dry day, we had an account of Bristol, Plymouth, Hull, Newcastle, Carlisle, and several other places surrendered for the Prince of Orange. Proclamations for a Parliament to sit the 15th of January. I wrote several letters for Ireland.

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7th :—A fair frost, we had an account of an address from the navy, and that our fleet and the Dutch lay very friendly together at Portsmouth, I was at evening with the mayor and several others at Rigby's.

8th :—A frost, I was with Mr. Fleetwood and parted early, Dr. Lee told the story of the lightning killing 2 men in the middle of 12 or 13, and that it took such serpentine motions, and went out of the top of the house.

9th :—A fair day, I walked to Penwortham and heard Mr. Gregory and dined there.

10th :—A fair day, the soldiers went to Phyrick chapel and took down the bell.

11th :—A wet day, I went to the boat-house to see a match at shooting between one Brown of Yorkshire, and Billington of Lancashire, they shot but half of a set. I supt at cousin Patten's; we had an account of several vessels arrived at Liverpool yesterday, with multitudes of English who fled out of Ireland for fear of a massacre.

12th :—A moist day, we heard the boys declaim at school, I went to see the shooting at the boat-house, was with Dr. Lee, Mr. Chaddock and others at Ratcliff's, and took a long farewell. B. was told the account of the Lord of Meath's going to Tirconnell, and desiring arms for their protection, but was refused, and threatened and charged with rebellion.

13th :—A very wet day, I rode to Camell's to see the ship which came from Holland; the master told me he was 3 weeks since at Ireland, and the custom-house's officer assured him there were arms lately come over for 15,000 men, he saw two Dutch ships off Pyle. Dean Ward came from Liverpool and confirms the account of 500 being come from Ireland for fear of a massacre, that Lords of Meath and Granard went to Tirconnell, who gave them no satisfaction, and that he believed Lord Meath was come over to the Prince of Orange, and that the Duke of Ormonde was gone into Ireland with a considerable force.

14th :—A moist day, we had an account of the King and Queen and Prince being withdrawn towards France. I was with Sir Richard Standish.

15th :—A fair day, we had an account by express this morning from Wigan, that 8,000 Scotch and Irish were ravaging the kingdom; that they massacred in Birmingham, burnt Stafford, and were moving towards Newcastle, upon which this town was making all speedy preparation, and sent several expresses. I was desired to take care of the horse, which I did, and got several who were very ready, but wanted arms, we searched several suspected houses, but found very little, we returned about 4 of the clock, met the mayor, and I entered about 50 that gave their names to serve in the horse.

16th:—A fair day, I had above 60 who rode under my command, I marched to the mill-hill, where I exercised them and brought them into the town where they gave 2 very good volleys, I treated them. Mr. Clarett this day brought an account of the King being stopped at Feversham, of the Chancellor and others being taken; a letter came from my Lord Derby confirming the news of the Irish and Scotch. Mr. Rishton came from Warrington.

17th:—A wet day, I drew out the volunteers who appeared better appointed than yesterday; we exercised on the marsh and they performed admirably; we marched in a full body through the town, gave a volley and dismissed; we had 2 expresses, one from the Lord Danby from York, who brought an account that he was advancing with 2 regiments of foot, 8 troop of horse, and one of grenadiers, the other from Colonel Rawstorne that the Irish were dispersed and had laid down their arms. Sir Thomas Clifton* was taken and brother.

18th:—A wet day, I drew out the troop, but the rain drove us in again; we had a report of the King's death, but God be praised it proved false, the news says that Tirconnell was seized together with the Castle of Dublin, by the Lords Granard, Meath, Mountjoy, and Inchiquin.

19th:—A frost, the militia company and troop drew out, I saw them exercise very ill; I was after with the mayor and others at The Dog. The mayor received a fresh account from Lancaster, which came from Kendal, that the Scotch and Irish were gone Yorkshire road, and had burnt Halifax, but it is not believed, the Mayor showed me the letter at 10 at night.

21st:—A hard frost, our news that the King had again retired by Rochester, that the Prince come to St. James's, I wrote several letters to Ireland and was at Rigby's with Mr. Fleetwood and others.

22nd:—A hard frost, Tom White came here. I got him a pass from the mayor, gave him five pounds and sent him towards Kirkham, I was with Mr. Fleetwood, Mr. Sherburne, of Stonyhurst† and others at the Mitre.

* Sir Thomas Clifton, of Clifton and Lytham, in Lancashire.

† Now the well-known Catholic College belonging to the Order of the Jesuits, then a private house owned by a Catholic family of the name of Sherbourne.

23rd :—A great frost, we had little news but that there would be great alterations in Ireland, and it is doubtful whether the King will leave the Kingdom, we walked in the afternoon and missed a railing sermon which the Vicar preached against the ceremonies of the Church.

24th :—A great frost, Ribble was frozen over; Mr. Gregory and I went a-gunning, but got little, only some few small birds; we dined at Dr. Lee's, was with Captain Clayton and his son at Mitton's; he brought an Irish proclamation with him, which was sent to Liverpool by order of Tirconnell to the mayor.

25th :—A gentle thaw, little news, the King continues still at Rochester, debates about a free Parliament, Tirconnell refuses to surrender Ireland; I was with Sir Thomas Stanley and much company at Serjeant Walls.

26th :—A hard frost, we were nobly entertained at the mayor's, went after to one of the serjeants, so to Milton's and from there to play at the coffee-house where I won thirty pounds.

28th :—A hard frost, we had an account of the King's being gone towards France; I sent T. White away with some letters and after supt at Cousin Johnson's.

29th :—A frost, Mr. Fleetwood came hither and seems unwilling to stand for Parliament man, I was with him at The Dog.

January 1st :—A very hard frost, a noble entertainment at Penwortham. I received bad news from Ireland, great preparation by Tirconnell, and that T. White was afraid of possession being taken; T. White returned from Liverpool but I sent him again with more letters.

6th :—Frost continues. Nabby was very ill last night, we had news that Tirconnell had resigned and fled into France, and that most of the considerable places in the Kingdom had declared for the Prince of Orange; a stranger preached this afternoon.

8th :—Some hail and sleet which froze as it fell, I was with the mayor, who is in great perplexity about the choosing men to go to convention, he this day received the circular letter, Lord Derby recommends his brother.

9th :—A thaw in the evening.

10th :—A great thaw, I saw Walton Copp overflown, I was with the mayor and colonel all night; Nabby was ill but proves a false alarm, I rode out with cousin Johnson, Patten, and Rigby, and made great interest for election; Mr. Stanley is sure to be one.

11th :—A fresh frost, ill news from Ireland. I was with one of Belfast at Rattcliff's. I got some guineas

12th :—Frost in the morning, but thawed in the afternoon, this is called the great Saturday but a very slender market, no goods go off, I was at Rigby's with Captain W. Clifton and his brother James and one Mr. Westby all Royalists who seem very high upon the news of Tirconnell holding out.

13th :—A frost and thaw, about 2 this morning Nabby fell into labor, and so continued in much pain till past nine at night, at which time she was delivered of a lusty daughter.

14th :—A frost and thaw, I was with the mayor and above 18 more of the best of the town and paid beverage for my daughter. Rigby and Patten will not stand to their agreement about election, I was desired to personate the Earl of Derby's brother.

15th :—A frost and thaw, this day was the election of members to serve in the convention, Mr. Stanley whom I personated was unanimously chosen; the competition between Rigby and Patten was carried by 2 votes for Patten, he had 208 t'other 206, I was carried on men's shoulders from barn to barn and was handsomely treated till very late.

16th :—A great thaw but without much rain, I was to take leave of Patten in order in order to his journey to London. I sent 7 guineas by him.

17th :—A thaw, this afternoon Abigail was baptised in the church, cousin Patten godfather and cousins Johnson;* and Betty Bickerton godmothers. I had the mayor and some of the best of the town; I was at night with Capt. Longworth and some other justices who kept sessions here this day, and received certificates of all Deputy Lieutenants and magistrates of this side of the country.

18th :—A great mist, I received several letters from Ireland but all speak of great preparations there, and that Tirconnell will not surrender, I saw Mr. Richmond from Liverpool who confirms the men being drowned in Dublin Bay, and that Colonel Sarsfield was among them.

19th :—A fair day, I was with Mr. Fleetwood and his cousin Dick, who says he heard by a vessel come from

* Probably the colonel's niece, daughter of his sister Mrs. Bickerton, of Armagh.

Ireland last Sunday, that the Protestants there were in a good posture of defence.

20th:—A misty day, Mr. Franks came from Liverpool and brought an account that the Protestants in Ireland were in a good posture to defend themselves.

21st:—A misty day, Cousin Johnson Piggott and I went to see Bramhall's fine horse, he asks £100 for him, he is a comely large horse chestnut coloured, but has no gait, we crossed the ford by lower path, t'is a pleasant situation and much orcharding about it, there are 20 acres inclosed with a stone wall, from there we came to Suirdale, Mr. Ashton's and dined there, where I saw the largest child of 3 years and a half old, he is 3 feet and a half tall and near an inch; we came to Preston about 2 o'clock, we were treated with cans by Piggott this being his birthday. At night we played at cards at Dr. Lee's; Sir John Coghill was for some time in this town this day and seemed very desirous to see me, he has brought his family out of Ireland and placed them at Lancaster, himself is gone for some time to London, so I was disappointed.

22nd:—A fair day, I had letters from Ireland and the Sligo declaration, at night James Charlton came hither who had been at Gernonstown* a week ago, he gives a dismal account of Ireland, especially of our county from whence most of the Protestants are fled, I saw Sir John Coghill's son.

23rd:—A misty moist day, Mr. Chaddock had news of the arrival of his vessel at Liverpool from Bordeaux, I was at night with the master one Lucas who says that the French inveighed mightily against the English and Dutch, he confirmed the account of the French seizing a Dutch flag at Plymouth and murdering all the men, Mr. Harrington of Kendal was here who gave me an account of his knowing Sir John Coghill.

24th:—A moist day, here came soldiers and officers from Carlisle going to Warrington, from whence they expect to be sent into Ireland, there was one Tranbar Etheridge and one Cornwall, whose parents are in Ireland.

25th:—A moist day, the soldiers marched out early, post came in late, the Lords and Commons addressed the Prince of Orange with thanks and desired his continuance of the Regency.

26th:—A fair day, I saw young Clayton who says that

* A village in County Louth midway between Dundalk and Drogheda, now called Castle Bellingham, the residence of the writer of this diary.

several passengers came into Liverpool from Ireland, that Tirconnell had taken several Protestant soldiers who were deserting, and bound and imprisoned them, that the Protestants there are in great consternation and endeavouring all they can to escape for England or the North, that Tirconnell threatens if any forces land from hence, he will turn his army loose to do what they please.

27th:—A fair day, I walked with Mr. Croston to Walton where we heard one Coulton preach and read prayers very well.

28th:—A wet day, I took physick which wrought very well, Dr. Lee and several friends came to visit me, this afternoon, came in some men who are designed for Ireland, in the meantime 60 quarter here, they are very promising men.

29th:—A moist day, very little news but what is bad from Ireland.

February 1st:—A fair day, we had the account of the House voting the King to have abdicated the realm, and the throne thereby become vacant, the Commons had only 8 dissenting votes, in the Lords house 48 were for governing by Regency and 51 for no regent.

2nd:—A fair day, we had prayers but very maimed, Robert Rigby was buried this afternoon, Mr. Gregory preached his funeral sermon.

3rd:—A fair day, some clashing in the convention, one Bland a probationer for the curacy here preached in the afternoon; I saw an officer beat a soldier very severely.

6th:—A fair day, we went a coursing and had an excellent course, in the evening we went to see Mr. Barton's mother and sisters, one is married and the other Prudence is unmarried, she is pretty but inclinable to grow fat.

8th:—A fair day, I was with Mr. Kenyon all the afternoon, The Lords and Commons can not yet agree about the words, abdicated and deserted, I was late at play and lost some money to Mr. Kenyon.

9th:—Some rain last night, a fair day, I sent my dog to be taught, Nabby was churched.

10th:—A dry day, we had the account of the Prince and Princess of Orange being declared King and Queen by the Lords, the curate preached a very ingenious sermon about unity, I saw Mr. James Ashton who came lately from Ireland.

11th:—A dry day, we went a coursing towards Lea, killed a lease of hares, came home in good time with the officers.

12th:—A windy day, great cock-fighting, Sir Thomas Stanley lost every battle, I had good news from Ireland that the Protestants were in a good posture of defence, I was with Mr. Fleetwood and others at the Bowling Green and came home early.

14th:—A fair day, this being appointed a thanksgiving for our deliverance from Popery, we had prayers and a sermon I was with the mayor and officers at Cooper's and treated them to a bowl of punch.

15th:—A moist day, much rain in the night, Colonel St. John went home, we had an account of the Princess of Orange landing at London Tuesday last, one Mr. Pepper of Ireland and his wife came to this town, here came also Dean Pullein*, Mr. Mead, Mr. Lee and Billy Graves, they landed at Whitehaven and bring a most dismal account of affairs in the North, I wrote a long letter to my cousin Froude† to be communicated to my Lord Clarendon about the present state of affairs there. I stayed with the Dean till late.

17th:—A moist day, we had an account of the new King and Queen being proclaimed last Wednesday at London with much joy, Captain Wescombe‡ went hence, Mr. Franks payed his way at Rigby's, being to go for London.

18th:—A dry cold day, this morning came a letter from the King and Council directed to the Sheriff and to the coroners to proclaim the new King and Queen, which was done with great solemnity at the Cross, after we went to the mayor's, then to the bonfire and from thence to Tirlagh's at all of which places we drank their healths, the soldiers firing several volleys and concluded all with bonfires and ringing of bells.

19th:—A hard frost, Nabby was very ill, the curate Mr. Bland is returned, I took lodgings for my sister§ I was with Mr. Pepper of Ireland, one Woodward spoke

* Dean Pullein was rector of St. Peter's, Drogheda, and afterwards Bishop of Dromore.

† Who married a daughter of Sir Daniel Bellingham, the Colonel's uncle.

‡ Son of Sir Martin Wescombe, Bart., Consul of Cadiz.

§ Mrs. Bickerton.

very saucily to Dr. Langton and said that the rising on the Blundering Saturday was to cut the Papists' throats.

21st:—A wet day, Nabby recovers. we dined at my cousin Patten's and supt at cousin Johnson's and had a bowl of punch, the women all but Nabby were very peevish and ill-humoured.

22nd:—A fair day, we were going part of the way with cousin Peers and Betty* got a violent fall, of which she was dangerously ill, I received letters from Ireland that the Protestants were 40,000 strong.

23rd:—A fair day, Betty recovers, some Papists disarmed but their goods restored them Captain Stoughton and Rock came and played with me at grand Trick Track.

24th:—A fair day, Mr. Gregory preached in the morning and the curate in the afternoon. I dined with Capt. Stoughton at cousin Johnson's, Betty recovers well.

26th:—A very fair day, Mr. Gregson went towards London, I went as far as Whittles with him came home by Lealand, where I saw Capt. Wescomb and Mr. Walmsley, General J. Coghill was again to see me, I received the declaration from Ireland; I am very ill with my toe, the gout troubles me, Capt. Stoughton received an express to give a faithful account upon word and honour what effective men there are in these companies, I played with him at grand Trick Track at Colonel Rawstorne's.

27th:—A very fair day, Nabby was dangerously ill last night, I got a strayed horse which was challenged and taken from Yorkshire.

March 1st:—A dry day, we had a report of King James landing in Ireland, Betty fell very ill of fits, I was with Capt. Wescomb and his lady at night.

3rd:—A fair day, Mr. Bland preached a sharp sermon against the Papists, Mr. Gregory preached in the afternoon against anger and revenge. Sarah Clifton was buried.

4th:—Some rain, I was in company with Withers Captain of the Grenadiers. I changed for several guineas, Dean Pullein came to this town from Liverpool, he was at Chester and Wrexham, he brings a sad account from Ireland, that Mr. Downs and several of the College came from thence last Friday, Christ's† and St. Patrick's churches

* Bickerton.

† Pre-Reformation churches, now Protestant Episcopalian Cathedral.

and the round church* are made into garrisons. Tirconnell has disarmed all Protestants at Dublin, ransacked the college for arms, sends 20,000 men speedily into the North, and daily expects the late King.

5th :—A fair day, Dr. Pullein went hence for Lancaster I went to dine at Penwortham with the Captains, and hearing that a vessel arrived at Stanner End which came from Ireland, and brought news of the Dutch being landed there, I posted away thither, but found it a lie, I came back and found them at the boat-house where I stayed some time and came home in the dark.

6th :—A fair day, Mr. Newcomen and Dowdall were here, I dined with them, and after dinner was most of the night with Colonel St. John.

10th :—A fair day, Mr. Coston preached a learned sermon on the doctrine of merits, and Mr. Bland in the afternoon.

11th :—A fair day, Lieut. Webster came to town and brought news of the late King being taken, but it gains no credit. I supt with the officers at the Mitre.

12th :—A fair day, I saw Captain Withers exercise his company of Grenadiers, Colonel Rawstorne received several letters of the Papists caballing.

13th :—A fair day, J. Shepherd came here and brings a most tragical account of Ireland, he gave me money to keep, and I treated him and the officers at the Dog.

17th :—Rain in the morning, Mr. Walmsley of Lealand preached 2 excellent sermons on contentment.

18th :—A fair day, my cousin Patten went hence for London, I was at night with Mr. Atherton minister of Liverpool.

19th :—Much rain, we heard of the revolt of Dum-barton's regiment at Ipswich, Capt. Bubb of Carlisle was here, with whom I drank at the Mitre, 7 Irishmen were sent hither by Sir Richard Standish suspected to design for the North to meet Oglethorp.

20th :—A very wet day, I went to the house of correction and spoke to Nicholas Collier, one of the Irishmen who confessed that he heard that King James was in Scotland, that Newcastle had declared for him, and that the Lancashire men would rise to his assistance, I saw Thomas

* St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopalian Church, Dublin, formerly round, since rebuilt.

Whitehead lately escaped from Ireland, he goes to Kirkham.

21st:—Very much rain, we had an account that there was a great engagement in Ireland, that the Protestants lost 4,000 and the Papists 6,000 men, but that the Protestants kept the field, but the master of the vessel affirms that he saw several officers brought into Drogheda desperately wounded, Captain Longworth wrote a letter to Colonel Rawstorne, intimating the great fears the country was in of the Papists who were very insolent, the Captain came to town, I was with him.

22nd:—A very fair day, I saw Dean Ward, who says the news of an engagement in Ireland is wholly false, that Sir William Franklin is in Liverpool and brings an account that all the Northern forces were joined and resolved to maintain their ground; the Copp at Walton has a great breach made at one end of it, I rode out in the afternoon to view it, I secured 3 Irish soldiers.

23rd:—Much rain, Mr. Pearson and Mr. Hornby were here from Poulton, they gave me an account of Mr. Barton being there, we have endeavoured to engage him to be here to administer the sacrament at Easter, Sir John Molyneux came here, the officers returned from Wigan.

March 24th, 1688:—A fair day, Mr. Bland preached twice very well, we have a certain account of King James being landed in Ireland, and the deserters laying down their arms, I walked with the officers at evening to see Walton Copp which is so much damaged by the flood that it is thought £400 will not repair it.

*March 25th, 1689**:—Some snow and sleet in the morning, a soldier was buried, several of them are very ill with drinking.

26th:—Snow and rain, I received a dismal account from Lancaster of the Protestants' defeat in the North of Ireland, and that several made their escapes to England, Scotland and Londonderry, this Dr. Lee brought with a letter from Dean Pulein.

27th:—Much snow, we had several of the defeated of the North come to this town, they confirmed the news, and that the Irish are now in possession of all but Londonderry, I walked with R. Piggott to Walton.

28th:—Much snow in the morning afternoon fair.

29th:—Much rain, one Gillebrand preached, Mr. Barton administered the sacrament, I was with him in the afternoon.

* Old style. The year began 25th March.

30th:—Very much rain last night and this morning, after dinner I was with Mr. Fleetwood who received the letter that there was a person seized at Whitehaven with letters to the convention of Scotland, and to some Papists of this country.

31st:—A wet day, the Sacrament was administered, I received, Mr. Barton gave it and preached 2 incomparable sermons, Sir Henry Ponsonby came hither from London, he gives a dismal account of his escape, I was with him and others at the Anchor.

April 1st:—A very wet day, Sir Henry Ponsonby went very early, I had an account of the sad defeat in the North of Ireland, and that honest Willm. Ponsonby was killed.

2nd:—A very wet day, great shooting at butts the Yorkshire man lost, here came an order for the companies to march to Liverpool and Ormskirk, Tomlington Bolton and Whitehead came hither and we were up late.

3rd:—A fair day, only some few showers, the company marched away and returned again by a counter order. Dean Pullein and Alderman Singleton came hither, I supt with them at the Anchor.

4th:—A very fair day, General John Coghill came here, I treated my friends at my lodgings, dined with them at the Anchor, they went away after dinner, Barton Whitehead and I diverted ourselves at play, and at night I was with Capt. Davis. Capt. Stoughton came from Liverpool he saw the forces embark who went off with great alacrity.

6th:—A fair day, some rain in the evening, here came three troops of Colonel Langston's regiment who suppressed the mutineers of Ipswich.

Between this and the 6th of May I was at London, the weather generally very fair, on the 6th of May I returned with my sister and niece.*

May 7th:—A fair day, I bowled with Colonel St. John, an express came from Liverpool that Derry holds out still.

12th:—A hot day, Hughes chaplain to Kirke's regiment preached an excellent sermon, Capt. Berry and I walked to the boat-house to see Tom Fleetwood, my wife, sister and the girls came to us, Birch preached in the afternoon.

* Mrs. Bickerton and her daughter, Betty.

13th :—A fair day, the Battalion drew out, an express for them to march immediately to Ormskirk, I went part of the way with them and was with Capt. Withers late.

14th :—A hot day, the King's declaration of war against the French King, I supt at cousin Patten's and eat chard.*

17th :—A windy day, Mr. Kenyon came to town 5 justices of peace sworn, I was with Mr. Kenyon and them.

18th :—A fair day and wind, for the forces who are gone to Derry, some hail in the evening.

19th :—Some rain in the night, the curate preached in the morning, and Mr. Gregory in the afternoon, I walked to Walton and saw Mr. Houghton.

24th :—A fair temperate day, General John Coghill gave me an account of another great defeat given by those of Derry to the besiegers, I was with C. Rigby and Mr. Gibbs, I received a letter in great haste from General John Coghill that his son was very ill.

25th :—Some rain, I was with Sir Richard Standish and Mr. Fleetwood, there came in a detachment of dragoons of Colonel Leviston's, they are 60 besides officers.

26th :—A fair day, this morning about 4 I fell very ill, and began to mend about ten, Mr. Gibbs preached twice, I had several visitants, among them Mr. Gibbs.

27th :—A fair day, I bowled in the afternoon with the Lieut.-Colonel Mathews and supt at Cousin Patten's.

28th :—A fair day, I saw the Dragoons exercise very well, great cocking at the Marsh, some Dragoons went out this evening to search for Papists' arms, I took the bitter draught this morning.

29th :—A fair morning but very wet afternoon I was at the Marsh, and saw several matches at cock fighting.

30th :—A fair day, I went with the officers to the marsh and bowled most of the afternoon, the Dragoons returned with several Papists' horses, but little worth.

June 5th :—A fair day, we went to fish and heard great guns from Liverpool.

9th :—A fair day, Nabby was very ill of a cold and stayed from church, I had an invitation from Mr. Gibbs for Mr. Barton to be chaplain to the Earl of Derby.

* i.e., Char.

13th :—A hot day went to Manchester by Prestwich, called on Mr. Ashton the Parson, saw my Lady Stevens and her daughters ; at Manchester is a very good church, it is a rural deanery with very bad choristers, there is a good foundation of Hospital boys founded by one Cheetham of this town and a pretty Library with an annual income of £10 per annum.

15th :—A fair day, about eleven we left Manchester, stayed some time at Chorley, met Alderman Sandyford who gave us an account of a Papists' ship that came from Ireland to Lancaster, that several papers and commissions were seized come from King James to several persons in this country, but directed to women ; here came the Lord Brandon, Gerard and Capt. Kirby in order to raise the militia of the whole county.

16th :—A fair day, wind at East, but turned in the afternoon, the curate preached an ingenious honest sermon for unity.

17th :—A fair day, the militia come in apace, several Papists seized, I was to see Andrew Moore of Drogheda.

18th :—A moist day, the militia drew out to the moor, I went to view them, I was after to wait on Sir Richard Standish but was disappointed.

19th :—A fair day, the militia drew out, I was at the moor, the Lord Brandon and others went to meet the Lords Commissioners to Lancaster, this being the fast, there was preaching but no occasional prayers.

20th :—A fair day, Mr. Barker came to see me, we walked out to view the militia, the Lords Commissioners came to town very late, we have the certain account of Edinburgh Castle being surrendered.

21st :—A moist morning, the mayor treated the Lords Commissioners, they went away about noon, at night I was with Colonel Kirby and his uncle and some others.

22nd :—A fair day, I waited on the Lord Delamere who was very obliging, Mr. Bankes went hence, I sent my Lord Derby's and Mr. Gipp's letters by Mr. Sharpless to Mr. Barton, I was with Sir Richard Standish and Mr. Fleetwood and others pretty late.

23rd :—A very hot day, we had news that Richards could not get into Derry, the river being blocked up by a boom.

25th :—A hot day, we hear that Kirke is got into Derry, one Skrossamore a Dutch quartermaster-general

returned hither from Whitehaven, where he has been to secure shipping and necessaries for transporting men for Ireland, several expresses passed to and from this town this day.

26th :—A hot day, I bowled at the marsh, several Papists were brought in here by Sir William Pennington.

30th :—Much rain, I stayed from church in the afternoon to write letters, the militia are to go, some to Wigan, some to Manchester and some to Lancaster.

July 1st :—A hot day, Nabby and I went to Liverpool we baited at Rufford,* where Mr. Barton came to us, Mr. Gregson and Mr. Rishton and their wives accompanied us so far.

7th :—A fair day, Mr. Barton preached in the afternoon, we went and sat some time with Dean Ward.

8th :—A close hot day, the Corporation rode the boundaries, we were handsomely treated at Captain Clayton's.

9th :—A very hot day, Mr. Barton and I were treated at Hodgkinson's, and were late at the Anchor with Colonel Fairfax and other officers of the Lord Castletown's regiments.

10th :—A hot day, Mr. Hodgkinson Mr. Barton and I went to Ormskirk to meet Mr. Roper, dined there and went to wait on Colonel Fairfax at our return.

11th :—A close hot day, the Earl of Devonshire's regiment of horse came here, they are indifferently well mounted.

12th :—A hot day, a battalion of General George St. George's regiment came hither, I saw Cornet Meredith and Capt. Cursett and recommended Tim Bankes to the Capt.

13th :—A very hot day, the remainder of St. George's regiment came in.

14th :—Much rain, Mr. Walmsley of Lealand preached two apologetic sermons on unity, I walked with Capt. Barry and found the soldiers robbing the garden.

16th :—A fair day, Sir Henry Ingoldsby's regiment came hither, I was to wait on him and Capt. Coote who has his lady and children with him.

* Seat of the Hesketh family.

17th :—A fair day, I walked with the Colonel to the marsh and bowled, and was late with several of the officers at the Anchor.

18th :—Much rain, this morning Nabby had an issue made, the soldiers unslated the Popish chapel, I was to visit Tracy who killed Malone at Wigan.

21st :—Some drops of heat, Mr. Palmer chaplain to this regiment preached in the morning, this evening came here Capt. Edward Griffith in his journey to Whitehaven.

22nd :—A fair day, the Regiment exercised at the marsh and fired bullets, I dined with Captain Griffith.

23rd :—Much rain last night, Capt. Griffith went hence this morning for Whitehaven, and several officers went to Chester for money, I bowled in the afternoon, we had a good account from Captain Billings of the state of the Protestants of Derry and Enniskillen.

24th :—A fair day, the regiment went hence for Wigan, I dined at the marsh Councillor Kearnes came through with an express from Kirke to Schomberg. Derry holds out bravely and it is hoped that Kirke will relieve it.

25th :—A very fair day, the regiment returned, a woman of them almost killed another in the cart with a grenadier's hatchet.

28th :—A fair day, Mr. Gregory preached in the afternoon, I sent copies of Capt. Withers' letters to London.

29th :—A fair day, Mr. Barton and Bankes came here, I dined with Colonel Mathews.

30th :—A fair day, I went by Liverpool to Chester to view the camp, I was kindly treated by Mr. Holts.

31st :—A fair day, I saw the camp, there were 8 regiments, Schomberg came to view them, I dined in Capt. Purefoy's tent, and supt with the Lord Drogheda where was Lord Lisbourne, Colonel Wharton, Sir Henry Bellasis and several others, we drank hard and talked high, here came in this day 2 French regiments.

August 1st :—Some rain, 5 regiments marched out to the camp and then to Highlake where Schomberg was, I saw a great fleet, here came in a man of war from our London fleet which she left off Holyhead, and the Bonaventure from Kirke which gives an account that 2 provision ships were passed Culmore going into Derry, and that they retook the Ormond Dogger and another small vessel at the Isle of Mull. Sam Green and I came late

over the ferry where were Lord Lisburne and Wharton, they would not let our horses come in their ferry, we came in a small cock-boat.

7th :—A fair day, I bowled at the marsh, we received the joyful news of Derry's being relieved, and the siege raised, it came by Capt. Withers in the Dartmouth, here was greet rejoicing by bells ringing, bon fires, and we drank a bowl of punch at cousin Patten's.

8th :—Much rain, Capt. Griffith came to town with a squadron of Colonel Coy's regiment, we visited Mr. Pullein and Mrs. Singleton.

9th :—A fair day, I bowled with the officers, the other squadron came to town.

10th :—A fair day, the Regiment marched hence, after dinner I was with Captain Nash, cousin Bellingham and I rode some part of the way with cousin Johnson, and called at Penwortham, in our return we found that Mr. Rigby and Nash had a quarrel with some of the dragoons who came in this day, Mr. Higginson was very ill hurt.

11th :—A hot day, Mr. Birch preached in the morning and Mr. Clayton in the afternoon.

12th :—A very hot day, I went to Rufford with cousin Green where we met Capt. Thomas Griffith and dined there, we bowled, this morning, Count Solms went off from Highlake with 13 regiments of foot and a prosperous gale, God be their good speed.

13th :—Some rain, the fair was proclaimed and we were treated by Bailiff Bostock in the Toun Hall.

14th :—Much rain, the beast fair, Mr. Kirkly gives us an account that our men are designed for Carrickfergus, we were treated at Cliftons by my cousin W. Bellingham.

15th :—A hot day, the horse fair, T. Shephard bought a gelding cost 8 guineas, I lent him 4.

16th :—A fair day, Mr. Conting gives an account of Dundee's party being totally disperst, I rode out and took leave at Penwortham.

17th :—A hot day, Mr. Bankes came this evening.

18th :—A hot day, a stranger preached, we hear that Schomberg is gotten to Carrickfergus.

19th :—A fair day, we dined with my sister.

20th :—A fair day, last night Governor Walker came here privately, he was very obliging to me, was nobly received and treated at the Mayor's, I went with him part of his way, he made large professions of kindness,

Lord Cavendish's regiment came in, I treated the Mayor and others.

21st :—Left Preston and came to Liverpool.

22nd :—Came to Chester, Lord Delamere's regiment came in here, Sir John Bland confined some passengers with a quaker come from Dublin, the Mayor entertained Walker, General Thomas Gore came in with his regiment.

23rd :—Gore's regiment went out, I supt with Major Boyle Count Schomberg, Lord Maynard came here.

24th :—A man hanged for murder, the French regiment came in.

(To be continued.)

Notices of Books.

Christian Mysticism. By WILLIAM RALPH INGE, M.A.
London: Methuen & Co., 36, Essex Street, W.C. 1899.
8vo. Pp. 379.

MR. INGE is careful to warn Catholics that they are not likely to find his volume very pleasant reading. "I have spoken," he writes in his Preface, "with a plainness which will probably give offence of the debased supernaturalism which usurps the name of mysticism in Roman Catholic countries. . . . With regard to Roman Catholic "Mysticism" there is no use in mincing matters. Those who find edification in signs and wonders of this kind, and think that such "supernatural phenomena," even if they were well authenticated instead of being ridiculous fables, could possibly establish spiritual truths, will find little or nothing to please or interest them in these pages." We are glad to confess, indeed, that the spirit of bigotry is less manifest throughout the work, than the passage just quoted would lead us to suspect. Nevertheless, "Christian Mysticism" is not a book that we can recommend to our readers.

W. G.

The Christian Salvation. By the late JAMES S. CANDLISH, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street. 1899. 8vo. Pp. 263.

DR. CANDLISH, a well-known minister of the Free Church, occupied during twenty-five years the chair of Systematic Theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Although a writer of considerable repute in the religious body to which he belonged, Dr. Candlish persistently declined to publish any of the lectures which he delivered as Theological Professor. After his death, however, which occurred some three years ago, it was decided to publish selections from the very considerable mass of manuscript covering the whole ground of his lectures, which the

[*No. 35 of Fourth Series.*]

deceased professor had left behind him. These selections are now published under the title of "The Christian Salvation." The sections of theology discussed in this volume are the "Work of Christ," the "Doctrine of the Church," the "New Life," the "Sacraments," and "Eschatology," and they are all regarded, we need not say, from what is called the "Low Church" point of view. When discussing the duration of the punishment of the lost, Dr. Candlish gives good reasons for believing that the term *aiónios*, as used in this connection in the pages of the New Testament is to be taken in *the* sense of everlasting. But he nevertheless thinks that this interpretation is consistent with the theory of "Annihilation" or "Conditional Immortality," on the ground that a punishment may be said to be eternal if it is final, and its consequences last for ever. He is, indeed, himself uncertain whether to accept "everlasting punishment," as commonly understood, or "annihilation." "On the whole," he writes, "it seems to be that the theory of annihilation is at best only an hypothesis, and that it is impossible to pronounce with any certainty between it and the more common view of the everlasting punishment of the lost. These two views agree in what is most clearly taught in scripture and is most important, that the punishment of the finally unpenitent shall be final, and in that sense eternal, whether it is to involve their eternal existence and suffering or not. They also agree in the belief that the doom of the ungodly shall include awful suffering of unknown character and intensity, but always justly proportioned to their guilt" (p. 243).

W. G.

Daily Thoughts for Priests. By the Very Rev. J. B. HOGAN, S.S., D.D. Second Edition. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co., 1899. 8vo. Pp. 202.

THERE is scarcely one of the fifty short papers contained in this volume which does not bear evidence of much reflection and much reading. The style of the author is as admirable as his matter. It is concise, yet full of unction. We may select as a specimen of our author's style an extract from his paper on Piety. "Piety as proceeding from the will is a virtue: as a spontaneous impulse it is a gift—a gift of nature in some, in others a gift of grace. There are those who are naturally pious; that is, whose physical temperament or psychological

structure leads them, almost without effort or guidance, to the above-mentioned practices. Others are pious, because God has made them so, supplying by His grace what is necessary to turn their affections heavenwards, and make them instinctively delight in holy things. From whatever source piety comes, be it nature, or grace, or both, as usually happens, it should be assiduously cultivated and its promptings gladly welcomed. First, because it is a great help, as is evident, to faithfulness in the service of God. We are weak, and should readily lay hold of whatever facilitates the performance of any of our obligations. Now, just as the natural affection of children for their parents makes the performance of their filial duties easy and pleasant, so piety sweetens the service of God. Piety is in reality a form of love, and love is the greatest sustaining power of all. Next, because it gives ease and gracefulness to our worship—an important circumstance for those with whom we live. Piety edifies in proportion as it is spontaneous. It is attracted chiefly by the glow of cheerfulness and brightness that surrounds it. Finally, it should be cultivated, because it imparts a generous impulse to the soul, and makes her capable of much more than she could attain without it. Virtue, when alone, may advance with firm step, but piety gives it wings" (pp. 135-136). Dr. Hogan states that if his present volume should prove acceptable, other volumes of a similar character will follow.

W. G.

La Question Liguorienne. Probabilisme et Équi-probabilisme.

R. P. X. Le Bachelet de la Compagnie de Jésus.

TILL about the year 1760 St. Alphonsus might fairly be classed as a Probabilist. The Probabilist principle "*licet sequi opinionem probabilem pro libertate relicta probabiliori pro lege*" was till the date mentioned both accepted and defended by him. In the year 1762, however, he laid down the principle, "*non licet sequi minus probabilem, relicta certe et notabiliter probabiliori pro lege.*" Is this later principle reducible to or at least consistent with the earlier, or is it a revocation of the earlier principle? The Redemptorist writers generally regard the later principle as quite inconsistent with the theory of Probabilism. Fr. le Bachelet, on the other hand, with many other writers, regards the two principles as consistent. The question is, of course, a purely academic one, and has none but an historical interest. Whatever the final decision of St.

Alphonsus may have been it is certain now that Probabilism is a good working theory. But we think that the real mind of St. Alphonsus is likely to be better known inside the Congregation which he founded than by outsiders. The Redemptorists have a continuous and living tradition as to the teaching of St. Alphonsus such as no others can possess.

W. G.

Orestes A. Brownson's Middle Life, from 1845 to 1855.

By HENRY F. BROWNSON. Detroit, Mich. : H. F. Brownson, Publisher. 1899. 8vo. Pp. 646.

THE first volume of Mr. Brownson's biography of his illustrious father terminated with the account of Brownson's reception into the Church. The present volume deals with the first ten years of Brownson's life and work as a Catholic. Upon his conversion Brownson decided to give up the Review which bore his name and with which he had been so long connected. The Review had dealt largely with theological questions. With these questions Brownson, now a Catholic, could no longer deal as a free-lance. The Review then must either change its character by confining itself to questions of politics and general literature, and for a Review of this kind Brownson had little taste, or else it must appear as an advocate of orthodoxy, and Brownson thought it would be presumptuous of one who was still quite new to the Faith to come before the world as a Catholic champion. He decided, in consequence, to abandon the Review and to prepare himself for the Bar. From carrying out this decision, however, he was dissuaded by Bishop Fitzpatrick. The latter, who appraised at their right value the splendid gifts of the neophyte, represented strongly to him that one who, like himself, had by his writings led others astray was bound to repair the evil by communicating to others the light he himself had now received. Brownson yielded to these representations and to prepare himself for the task with which he was now charged, commenced under Bishop Fitzpatrick's supervision a systematic study of theology. The magnificent services which Brownson, through the medium of his Review, rendered to the Catholic cause are well set forth in these pages. Brownson, indeed, wrought a very marked change in the condition of the Church in America. Till his conversion, Catholicism in America had been on its defence, and its defence was a timid one. But Brownson boldly carried the war into the enemy's camp, and

placed Protestantism on its defence. While engaging himself chiefly with theological discussions, Brownson always reserved a place in his *Review* for literary criticism, and the volume under notice contains extracts from his appreciations of James R. Lowell, Emerson, Bancroft, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Fenimore Cooper, and other well-known writers. His fame as an eminent Catholic writer soon spread to Europe, and the present volume shows us Brownson in correspondence with Dr. W. G. Ward, Montalembert, Sir John Acton, Dr. Newman, and other distinguished Catholics. The correspondence between Brownson and Newman is of a particularly pleasing character. Brownson disapproved strongly of Newman's theory of development, and in various articles he had expressed his disapproval in language as strong as the disapproval itself. Newman seems to have thought that Brownson not only misunderstood his position, but was further wanting in consideration to himself. But this did not prevent him when a little later he was appointed Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland from urgently pressing Brownson to accept a Professorship. We trust that these volumes will make Brownson better known to the present generation. They set before us a layman of superb intellect and immense force of will, throwing himself heart and soul into the Catholic cause. Never has there been a man whose character and upbringing tended more to independent judgment. Yet rarely has there been a man more docile to ecclesiastical authority. "I have worked hard," he writes, "I have studied diligently, and I have always acted under advice, and never published an article written by myself, without first submitting it to my bishop, or to a theologian appointed by him to examine my articles, except now and then a literary criticism or my literary notices. In almost all instances I have consulted him, or in his absence the theologian appointed, as to the propriety of discussing the topic, before proceeding to write . . . I have never refused to make any alteration required, or to suppress any article which the authority I consulted suggested it would be better not to publish" (pp. 493-494). His loyal obedience to his Bishop was that of a model Catholic. "The Bishop of Boston," he writes, "in whose diocese I live, is the Catholic Church to me, at least in the first instance, and I am not aware that there is any higher voice through which the Church speaks to me, except that of the Holy Father; and the Bishop of Boston, except where his own authority is in question, is to me

the legitimate interpreter of the voice of the Holy Father himself" (p. 494). We too easily forget our great men. May these volumes be read and keep the name of Brownson in remembrance!

W. G.

The Catholic Creed. By the Very Rev. Father PROCTOR, S.T.L. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. 8vo. Pp. 357. 1900.

NUMEROUS treatises on Catholic doctrine have recently seen the light in England and in America. This we take to be a most excellent sign. If the supply be great the demand must be equally great. Publishers are not in the habit of accepting books for which there will probably be but little demand. Some of these treatises are written chiefly for the instruction of Catholic readers. Others have as their main purpose the removal of misconceptions as to Catholic belief from the minds of non-Catholic readers. Fr. Proctor's volume treating as it does, though very compendiously, of all the important points of Catholic doctrine will be of use to both Catholic and non-Catholic readers; and it will, we think, prove interesting as well as useful. Works of instruction are frequently stiff and dry, but "The Catholic Creed" is readable throughout. Our author frequently makes use of illustrations, and his illustrations are usually effective. Thus, when speaking of the insufficiency of "private judgment," he writes: "Individual opinion must be as fallible and manifold as are the individuals forming or formulating the opinions; and wherever it prevails there must result diversity and multiplicity. If in an army each soldier followed his own judgment, and there was no authority to whom all submitted, could a war be successfully carried on? Or would the lives and property of a nation be safe in the defenders' keeping? If on a vessel each sailor were to act on his own judgment in the time of a storm, and all were to agree to rebel against the authority of their captain or their chief, would not the ship be in danger of running ashore, striking on a rock, or colliding with another vessel and foundering. If in a place of business there were no responsible authority, but all the employes acted each one as he pleased, we could hardly anticipate a favourable balance-sheet at the end of the financial year. A kingdom without laws, or rulers, or courts, of law, or king would be 'a kingdom divided

against itself,' and could not long 'stand.' Apply all this to a Church and the result will be the same" (p. 55). "The Catholic Creed" is a valuable addition to our doctrinal treatises.

W. G.

St. Peter at Rome and his Tomb on the Vatican Hill. By
Rev. ARTHUR STAPYLTON BARNES, M.A. London: Swan,
Sonnenschein & Co. 1900.

FATHER BARNES' "St. Peter at Rome" has been handled rather severely by some of its critics. This is hardly to be wondered at, for the author's standard of accuracy and critical precision is not a very high one. Nor does he always pick his way gingerly over the treacherous ashes under which lurks the fire of many a fierce antiquarian controversy. But, on the other hand, we do not think that due credit has been given to his industry and enterprise. He has brought together a vast amount of material, some of which has never been published, and most of which has hitherto been inaccessible to the ordinary English reader, material drawn from all kinds of recondite sources; and though many of the views to which he commits himself are incautious, they are generally ingenious and stimulating. His book bears evident marks of hasty composition. But if his object was rather to promote enquiry and stimulate research than to try to say the last word on a number of moot questions, he has acted wisely in not delaying. We believe that there are good prospects of explorations being carried out round about St. Peter's tomb on the lines that he has marked out, and certainly educated persons who visit Rome after reading this book will be grateful to its author for supplying them with the kind of archæological information that is wanted for an intelligent appreciation of what they see and are told concerning sites and objects connected with the memory of St. Peter.

The first four chapters treat of "St. Peter at Rome," the fifth and sixth of the "wanderings of his body," and the remaining nine of his tomb under the old and the new St. Peter's. Father Barnes is of opinion that St. Peter visited Rome about A.D. 42, having first made a short stay at Antioch and a missionary journey through Pontus and the other regions mentioned in I. Peter. The Apostle remained in Rome till the expulsion of the Jews under Claudius, then, appointing Linus his deputy, went back to Antioch and again visited the churches he had founded in Pontus, Galatia,

Cappadocia, &c. He returned to Rome after St. Paul's release, and was martyred there about the year A.D. 67.

With the main outline of this attempted reconstruction of the Apostle's career we have no fault to find; though much of it is conjecture, still, it is conjecture based on tradition and documentary evidence. But the same cannot be said of some of the details with which it is filled up. That St. Peter went to Rome A.D. 42 is a very ancient tradition; that he was not there when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, or, again, the Epistles of his first Roman captivity, is held by many, perhaps the majority of critics, to be established by the *argumentum ex silentio*; that he was martyred at Rome towards the close of Nero's reign is almost as certain as any fact of history can be. But if Father Barnes had carefully read Bishop Lightfoot on "The Early Roman Succession" we very much doubt if he would have said: "It would seem clear that Linus was in charge of the Church [during St. Peter's absence from Rome] and this accounts for the various traditions which represent him to us as having acted as the deputy of St. Peter." If Lightfoot is right, and his conclusions on this point seem to be generally accepted, these "various traditions" were not traditions at all, but guesses pure and simple. The same may be said about the attempts made by early ecclesiastical writers to fix the time of St. Peter's missionary journey in Pontus, Galatia, &c. Nothing seems to be clearer than that they had no tradition to guide them on this point, but, like ourselves, had to content themselves with conjectures. It would be hypercritical, however, to lay too much stress on matters such as this when dealing with a book, the purpose of which is archæological rather than historical. In this part of his narrative Father Barnes writes very interestingly about the traditionary portraits or likenesses of St. Peter and St. Paul; of the wooden altar of St. Peter and his chair preserved in St. John Lateran's and St. Peter's respectively; of the Ostian Cemetery, and of the Churches of St. Pudenziana and St. Prisca. *Pace* Father Barnes and other learned authorities, the association of the last-named with Aquila and Priscilla, and so with St. Peter, seems to have sprung out of ancient conjecture rather than ancient tradition.*

In chapters v. and vi. the various translations of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul during the ages of persecution are

* We may refer our readers to Sanday and Headlam's "Romans," where they will find this matter fully discussed.

discussed. The one indisputable fact in this perplexed history seems to be that the bodies of the two Apostles lay for many years in *Catacumbis*, where the Church of St. Sebastian now is, and it seems to be almost certain that they were translated thither in the year A.D. 258, where they remained till the beginning of the fourth century. Our author has an ingenious theory, which would enable us to fix almost the precise date in which the bodies were brought back to their present tombs. It should be noted also that he favours the view that there was an earlier translation from St. Sebastian's (where, according to the "Marcellus Acts of Peter and Paul," the bodies of the Apostles lay for a year and some months after their martyrdom) to the Vatican and the Ostian way. The statement of the Marcellus Acts, if unconfirmed from any other source, is almost valueless, but Father Barnes tells us of a very striking confirmation of it in a tomb just outside the Platonía, which is of the first century, and, judging from its size, was clearly meant to hold two bodies. This point is of such importance that the names of the authorities who declare this tomb to be of the first century ought to have been given. Considering how archæologists differ about the date of the Platonía and the monuments it contains, one would naturally like to know whether in this other matter they are unanimous.

We must pass over the chapters which describe the old St. Peter's and tell its history. They are full of curious information and bear the impress of enthusiastic research. But though the general picture which they present will not fail to interest the average educated reader, most of the questions with which they deal and the theories that they propound are such as can only be properly appreciated by specialists. There is one question which every Catholic reader at least will eagerly ask, has the body of St. Peter ever been disturbed? Once, and once only, in the course of its long history does the tomb of the Apostle seem to have been in the hands of those who would be likely to desecrate it. This was in 847, when a band of Saracens were in possession of the Vatican for some days. But though they carried off all the ornaments and treasures, together with the actual altar which had been raised above the tomb of the chief of the apostles, they do not seem to have opened the tomb itself. There was plenty of pillaging and desecrating to be done during the short time they were there without breaking into solid masonry, and very possibly the access to the tomb was already

concealed by a masking wall. One thing at any rate is clear from the discoveries made in 1626, that the tombs round about were left inviolate. Whether friends did what enemies refrained from doing is not so clear. It is well known that many churches, among them that of St. John Lateran, claim to possess portions of the bones of St. Peter and St. Paul. If these relics are genuine then of course the tombs have been opened since the time of Constantine.

We have left ourselves no space to do more than allude to the closing chapters in which the discoveries made when the old St. Peter's was demolished are described. Father Barnes quotes freely from contemporary records, some of which have never before been published. The chamber containing the tomb of St. Peter was not opened, but through a hole made in the wall Pope Clement VIII. and three cardinals saw, or thought they saw, not only the sepulchre, but also the golden cross placed on the top of it by Constantine. The aperture was at once closed by order of the Pope and in his presence. Will pilgrims of the twentieth century be permitted to see the tomb of the Apostle? Father Barnes thinks he has discovered the exact spot where the entrance to the tomb has been walled up, and the Congress of Christian Archæology, which recently met at Rome, has petitioned the authorities to allow his investigations to be put to the test of fact.

In conclusion, we must call attention to the valuable illustrations and plans with which the letterpress of this valuable book is enriched. These alone would make it an important acquisition to antiquarians and archæologists.

F. B.

Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ. Actus Apostolorum. Auctore JOSEPHO KNABENBAUER, S.J. Parisiis : P. Lethielleux. 1899.

WE have much pleasure in congratulating Father Knabenbauer upon the publication of his Commentary on the "Acts of the Apostles." In research and thoroughness it in no way falls short of the high-level of excellence attained to by the previous contributions of the learned Jesuit Father to the "Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ."

Father Knabenbauer's labour in defending the honesty and integrity of St. Luke, and also in establishing the historical accuracy of the Acts, has been much lightened by the valuable

support of the eminent philologist, Frederick Blass, who has done so much to counteract, if not to overturn, the hypercritical analytical efforts of such men as Wendt, Weiss and Hilgenfeld. Indeed, Dr. Blass' "*Acta Apostolorum*" is a work that ought to be thoroughly mastered by every Catholic student. We could not, however, fail to notice, as we read through Father Knabenbauer's Commentary, that he does not appear to be acquainted with Professor Ramsey's works upon the period covered by the Acts. No allusion is made even to "The Church and the Roman Empire." Surely, that is not as it ought to be.

The introductory questions relating to the Acts of the Apostles have been a good deal simplified in these latter days. Thus, whatever difficulty may have been raised in years gone by regarding the authorship of the Acts, it can hardly be said to be seriously doubted in our own time that the author of the third gospel and of the "*Acts of the Apostles*" were one and the same person, viz., St. Luke. It is, moreover, satisfactory to notice how much the theory of the old Tübingen school as to the Acts being a kind of compromise between the parties of Peter and Paul has been modified by later critics; and, last of all, to see such an eminent scholar as Dr. Blass, and one, too, whose conclusions cannot be discounted as being due to theological bias, come forward as a champion of what were once looked upon as antiquated and discredited views.

Still, it is not to be supposed that it is all now plain sailing for the exponent of the "*Acts of the Apostles*." There are, in the first place, the same complicated problems of chronology as ever to be solved; and the reader has only to compare the list of dates given by Father Knabenbauer on page 16, as determined by Father Cornely with the corresponding dates as fixed by Belser, in order to see that there are still serious questions to exercise the ingenuity of the commentator.

The text of the Acts presents some very interesting phenomena. Two types of text, clearly distinguished one from the other, have been handed down. The one (α) is attested by the great majority of the MSS. and other witnesses. The other (β), which is supported by D, *codex floriacensis*; *codex p. 137*; *Vers. syr. phil.*; *sahidica*; *vers. lat. of the "gigas librorum,"* E, &c., &c., is much more diffuse and not so well finished as the other. Dr. Blass is of opinion that both forms of text derive their origin from St. Luke. The longer form remained at Rome, where it was written, and was copied there for the use of the

faithful. Then St. Luke wrote a second edition, somewhat abbreviated and more eloquent in language, which he sent to Theophilus in the East. This second edition it is which the MSS. and the versions for the most part have handed down. Belser, Nestle, Zöckler, and others have adopted this theory.

There is nothing very startling in Father Knabenbauer's Commentary, but it is well deserving of careful study; for it is well abreast of the learning and research of the day. With the completion of the Commentary on the Acts, Father Knabenbauer has finished his exposition of the historical works of the New Testament. We may assure him that his work is thoroughly appreciated by Catholics. It is a standing proof that Catholics are not without love of Holy Scripture, and that the Church is not without men of learning and research, who are able and willing not only to expound the Word of God, but to defend it from the attacks of unbelievers.

J. A. H.

Les Esclaves Chrétiens. Par PAUL ALLARD. Paris : Lecoffre. 3me. Edition. 1900.

M. PAUL ALLARD has enriched Catholic literature with many valuable works since the first edition of his "Esclaves Chrétiens" was given to the public in 1876; and he has completed the study of the same subject in his "Esclaves, Serfs, et Mainmortables," published in 1884, bringing down the emancipation of the serfs to modern times. Other writers, such as Mœhler, Biot and Mgr. Pavey have treated upon the subject, but M. Allard has set forth the work of Christianity in the mitigation and final abolition of slavery in a more complete way than any other writer, and this because he has regarded it from a distinctly Christian point of view. In all his works, especially the great work on the persecutions, M. Allard is thoroughly Christian. At the same time he is *au courant* with all that modern archæology has discovered, and his works are decidedly "up-to-date." He frankly acknowledges himself a disciple of the great Christian archæologist, de Rossi, and his historical sketches are based on the solid ground cleared for him by the genius of his distinguished master. M. Allard divides his work into three books. In the first he gives a most graphic description of Roman slavery, its effect on honest labour, both domestic and agricultural, and its moral effect on both masters and slaves. It may be said that he

has presented it in an exaggerated light and has taken the descriptions of the satyrists and poets too literally. Of course, there were doubtless many exceptions, just as there were in modern slavery in the Southern States of America. But as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" gave a true picture, not of what always was, but of what always might be, so M. Allard gives us the account of the evil tendencies and possibilities of a system from which Christianity has the glory of having emancipated a great part of the human race.

His second book treats of Christian equality as contrasted with Roman slavery, and shows the position of slaves in the Christian Church, the dignity to which they were often raised in the Church and the honour that was paid to the slave-martyrs. The full recognition by the Church of slave-marriages is a most important item in the early treatment of slavery by the Church, as it explains some difficulties in early Church history, and it had much to do with the raising of the status of the slave and preparing the way for his emancipation. In the Third Book our author deals with the actual emancipations and the diminution of the number of slaves during the fourth and fifth centuries, resulting in the rehabilitation of free labour. In this book there is an interesting chapter on the Christian *alumni*, as the foundlings used to be called. The contrast of the spirit of Paganism and the spirit of Christianity is strikingly manifested in the treatment of these poor outcasts. We have not space to give a more full account of this interesting book. We treated it at some length at the time of its first publication, but we may give some extracts from the last chapter, in which M. Allard sums up the results of his investigations :

There are [he says] two stages in the emancipation of slaves: the freedom of their persons, and that of their labour. The first belongs entirely to the moral order; the second depends chiefly on the economic or political order. One might say that the first was almost entirely accomplished, or at least entirely prepared before the second half of the sixth century.

This was the work of Christianity. Under its influence the slave ceased to be a chattel; he recovered one by one the rights of a human person. In the religious society he had them all, from the first preaching of the Gospel. In the civil society he recovered them little by little, as legislation allowed itself to be penetrated by the spirit of Christianity. . . . The equality given back to the slave in the religious order and in that of the family was a great conquest—the essential, fundamental conquest. But the Church did more, or rather, using her influence, she persuaded free men to complete her work. She favoured emancipations in every kind of way. . . . If the Church had not liberated the person of the slave and given him back his rights, the liberation of his labour would not have been to his benefit. In

this first part of her work, the most delicate and the most difficult, the Church was alone, without allies, and she had against her the whole world. (Pp. 476, 479, 492.)

W. R. B.

The Seraph of Assisi. Books VII.—IX. By the Rev. JOHN A. JACKMAN, O.M. James Duffy & Co., Dublin. 1899.

THIS intermediate portion, consisting of about 100 pages, is part of the entire work of twelve books, in which we have what appears to be a poetical biography of the great Founder of the Franciscan Order. It has at least the credit of being a very laborious undertaking, but is intelligible only from the standpoint of obedience and purity of intention, and there its value terminates. Looking to two of the objects in view, the subject and the reader, we painfully see nothing beyond failure in an extreme sense of the word. The transcendent virtues of the great Francis, with their almost unparalleled heroism, would, in simple justice, require angelic conception to delineate them as it should be done, and we believe a Dante or a Milton would reverently decline a task of the kind. Prose has its privileges, but poetry must maintain the requirements of its higher order. The average reader is too anxious to know the thoughts and the works of the Saint himself, to ascertain and contemplate the workings of God in His servant, and to find out how far he can utilise a sacred biography of the kind into practical imitation, to care much for, to even think of verse or rhyme in the matter; and we cannot conceive an exception beyond the happy Christian who has read the "Life of St. Francis" over and over in prose, and who afterwards wishes to bury monotony in poetry. In these lines we fail to find the genius or spirit of poetry. It is, if not doggerel, something in the same horizon, and it would be a colossal effort indeed that would convince us that poetry and the author were twins. The extreme price, 2s. 6d., for this portion of the work comes in as the *ictus graciosus* of ill-advised and ill-starred labour, and this we say all the while prescinding *in toto* from the abundant merit the sincere author has found with God in the fervent execution of his difficult and very toilsome undertaking. We regret heartily our unfavourable opinion, but what can be done with the public looking on?

M. M.

Quinze Ans de Haute Police Sous le Consulat et l'Empire
par P.-M. Desmarest, chef de cette division au Ministère
de la Police Générale, suivi du *Siège de Valenciennes* (1793).
Edition annotée par LÉONCE GRASILIER et précédée d'une
étude sur Desmarest et la Haute Police, par ALBERT SAVINE.

DESMAREST was born at Compiègne in 1764, and educated at the College of Louis le Grand, where he seems to have held a scholarship. M. Savine tells us that the question whether Desmarest was prepared for and actually entered the priesthood has been disputed. He himself, however, has no doubt that Desmarest took orders, and that he was parish priest at Longueil Sainte Marie in 1791. But the spirit of the times was too strong for him; in the same year we find him combining the functions of priest and mayor; soon he had joined the ranks of what M. Savine calls "ces prêtres constitutionnels qui rompirent avec leur évêque d'abord et avec leur foi ensuite." He became the most zealous of "patriots," and after a brief experience of war on the northern frontier, as secretary to Léchelle, returned to Valenciennes in the double capacity of serjeant-major of a company and director of the provisioning department. By 1793 he had become a person of importance in the place. His patriotic orations were listened to with excited attention; his sentiments even found an outlet in verse. His account of the siege of Valenciennes it included in the volume before us. When it was over he went to Paris, and in 1795 we find him in Switzerland holding an appointment in connection with the Commissariat of the Army of the Alps. Through a friend who had interest with Fouché, Desmarest now obtained a post in the Ministry of Police and his career began in earnest. During the fifteen years that he remained at the Ministry he succeeded by his tact and efficiency in making himself indispensable, and he was at the height of his prosperity when the Empire fell. He retired to Compiègne, was restored by Napoleon to his old position during the Hundred Days, lost it again after Waterloo, and lived, always more or less "suspect" in the eyes of the Police of the Restoration, until 1832. When the cholera appeared in Paris in that year, Desmarest was one of its first victims, and died, after a few hours' suffering, on April 4th.

M. Savine, whose account of Desmarest forms the preface to the volume, engages our interest at the outset by his description of the author of these notes and recollections. "L'homme qui

les a retracés," he says, "s'est trouvé pendant quinze années en posture de tout voir, de tout entendre, de tout savoir et de tout retenir." But no doubt it was precisely this unique position, with its routine, and its incessant call for caution and self-repression, that moulded the nature of the man, and made him different from the sprightly chroniclers of his time. Something of the rigidity of his office seems to have found its way into his style, and the recollections, on the whole, are disappointing. Certainly the material is promising enough. Episodes such as the various attempts on the life of Napoleon, the death of Paul I. of Russia, and of the Duc d'Enghein, treated by a man in the position of Desmarest, arouse a curiosity which his dry recital of facts and studious suppression of the picturesque do nothing to satisfy. There is a long chapter on Napoleon and the Spanish Succession, and one headed "*Le Ministre Fouché*," which will disappoint those who expect a character-study of that very remarkable man. To the ordinary reader the chapter on the attempt of the strange visionary, Frederick Staaps, upon the life of the Emperor, and that which describes the plot of General Malet, will be the most interesting. In these, as in that which tells the story of the proposal of abdication sent by Napoleon to Louis XVIII., the facts are so suggestive in themselves that the reader's imagination will be stimulated even without the aid which Desmarest seems incapable of supplying. *Sainte-Beuve*, quoted by M. Savine, admirably sums up the impressions with which we lay down the volume. "*Si la curiosité, toujours maligne, du lecteur regrette par endroits tant de mesure de la part d'un témoin qui a si bien regardé du dehors, elle a d'ailleurs de quoi raisonnablement se satisfaire en ce qu'il raconte; si l'on se trouve arrêté souvent plus vite qu'on ne voudrait, on sait du moins qu'on a été guidé constamment dans une voie consciencieuse et véridique.*"

A. F. S.

Mr. Britten's Protestant Fiction.

WE gladly welcome the second edition of Mr. Britten's "*Protestant Fiction*." Such works as these are rendered most necessary by the flood of literature that issues from Protestant sources and is spread broadcast over the whole length and breadth of the land. This literature is full of slanderous abuse of Catholic practices and institutions. It is written in a popular style and with an air of dark mystery per-

vading it. Such a style ensures its popularity among the uneducated, and keeps alive among them the absurd superstitions about the Catholic Church which more enlightened Protestants have long since known to be false.

Mr. Britten's book is doing a most valuable service in laying bare the falsehoods and misrepresentations of this obnoxious literature. He has thoroughly investigated the details of every case which he treats of, and which his wily adversaries have ventured to specify. The exposure of their underhand practices will undeceive and perhaps lead to the conversion of many who have been their dupes.

Life and Happiness. By A. MARROT.

EXCEPTING his logically imperfect division of man into body, mind, and soul, the author has laid down most carefully and most clearly principles the adoption of which would certainly go far to ensure a fair share of both these blessings. He gives good sound rules for the preservation of bodily health, and rules which all, without exception, could to some extent follow. He gives excellent advice to parents who desire to see around them a healthy offspring. He next treats of mind or intellect, and the character of the training required to ensure its right use and its preservation from error.

The "soul" which the author appears to identify with "conscience," and which would likewise appear to be something quite distinct from mind or intellect, next passes in review. To this division we take exception. Mind or intellect is but a faculty of the soul of man, and consequently the division of the work into the twofold treatment of body and soul with a subdivision of the latter into mind, or intellect and conscience, or rational will, would have avoided all unnecessary ambiguity. The great moral principles that determine the right ordering of human society are carefully expounded and applied. The book furnishes a noble ideal; but so long as human nature remains what it is, we fear that the author's aim is, to some extent, Utopian.

The Divine Discipline of Israel. By G. BUCHANAN GRAY, M.A. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1900.

THIS little volume is made up of an address delivered at Leicester, in 1896, and of three lectures on "The Growth of Ideas in the Old Testament." It is written entirely
[No. 35 of *Fourth Series*.]

from the point of view of the new criticism ; indeed, it takes for granted the soundness of modern conclusions relating to the literature and religion of the ancient Israelites.

We have no difficulty in admitting that the Old Testament seems to point to a certain development in the sphere both of ethical and theological knowledge amongst the Israelites. But Mr. Gray's views on these subjects appear to go far beyond what can be supported by sound argument.

In his address delivered at Leicester he objects, on the one hand, to Professor Kueeen's conclusion that the Israelites, in common with other Semites, were polytheists ; and, on the other, to Renan's contention that they were monotheists. He takes up an intermediate position and declares them to have been "monolatrists," *i.e.*, to have believed in many gods and worshipped but one, Jehovah. Renan's contention is undoubtedly the right one. For, though in practice idolatry was widely spread amongst the Israelites for ages, still the true and official religion of the nation was monotheistic.

Mr. Gray seems to us to exaggerate the exclusiveness of the Israelites. It is true that they claimed to have—as they really had—a unique relation to the Almighty. It is true, also, that they had special duties and obligations to one another, which they did not regard as binding with respect to outsiders. But there is nothing to show that they were permitted to deal unjustly or cruelly with the foreigner, because he was such. On the contrary, we read that they must not "vex a stranger, nor oppress him."

Nor can we agree with Mr. Gray's exposition of the terms "holiness" and "righteousness." He unduly depreciates the moral significance which always attached to these terms. Nothing follows from the fact that "those who gave themselves up to licentious practices in connection with divine worship" were called "holy ones." Persons and things devoted in a special way to God's service were called "holy." It is only natural that, by abuse, the same term should be applied to persons dedicated to the service of false gods, even where the service was abhorrent from all right sense of decency.

Mr. Gray considers that in earlier times the tribe, not the individual, was the unit in Israel. In later times only did each individual have to stand by himself and suffer or be rewarded fully for his own conduct. Here again we recognise a substratum of truth. But we do not for a moment admit that in

earlier times each man had not to answer for his own deeds. In all ages the folly of individuals has caused calamity to the republic; and no doubt this was more generally the case when society was in an early stage than now.

Throughout these lectures there seems to us to be much exaggeration. The citations from the Old Testament will not bear the edifice built upon them. In fact, the author has overbuilt his foundations, and we cannot pretend to be in sympathy with his views as to the ethics of the Old Testament.

J. A. H.

Fra Girolamo Savonarola. A Biographical Study based on Contemporary Documents. By HERBERT LUCAS, of the Society of Jesus. London: Sands & Co. 1899.

MUCH has been written of late on the subject of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, and the long-standing controversy which rages round his name has apparently taken a new lease of life. This is doubtless due, in part at least, to the recent centenary celebrations, which naturally produced a goodly crop of panegyrics. And while the admirers of the great Dominican did honour to his memory, it was inevitable that some astute assailants of the Holy See should make use of the occasion for a less praiseworthy purpose. Judging by the experience of some other anniversaries, we might have anticipated a revival of this controversy in the year 1898. But, as it happened, the appearance of the third volume of Dr. Pastor's "History of the Popes" forestalled the arrival of the fourth centenary. The historian's verdict was speedily challenged by Professor Luotto and other champions of the *Frate*, and Dr. Pastor put forth a pamphlet in reply to their arguments.

This new phase of an old controversy has already borne some fruit in the book before us, which owes its origin to the fact that Father Lucas was asked to review Dr. Pastor's pamphlet, in the pages of the *Tablet*. This is not the first time that a solid book has grown out of a critical article; or one of the most popular biographies in the language—Southey's "Life of Nelson"—first saw the light in the shape of a paper in the *Quarterly Review*. Let us hasten to add, that the present work is by no means an enlarged critique of Dr. Pastor's pamphlet; for, as our author says, the original purpose, with which he "commenced his study of the Savonarola literature has been long since left behind."

It is true that the present volume retains some traces of the controversy in which it originated. Many of its pages are devoted, like Pastor's pamphlet, "to the judgment of Savonarola." And the author is often occupied in answering the arguments of the Friar's recent champions, and in vindicating the verdict of the German historian. But, happily, Father Lucas has turned his study of the documentary evidence to a better purpose than mere criticism and controversy, and has given us a fairly full and authentic history of the great Florentine reformer. Whatever we may think of his final judgment on Fra Girolamo, we must allow that the author has succeeded in his endeavour to set the evidence fairly before his readers. The book has thus a value of its own, which is quite independent of the author's conclusions.

At the same time, the judgment here passed on Savonarola is certainly unfavourable, and it is not surprising that some of the prophet's admirers have come forward to take up the challenge. One of these champions has even accused the author of suppressing facts which tell in the *Frate's* favour, and giving us an indictment in the guise of a study. But a calm and careful consideration will probably lead the reader to a very different estimate of the book before us, and if we are not much mistaken, it may be found that the labours of Father Lucas have done a better service to the memory of Savonarola than the panegyrics of his most ardent admirers: for at least, in some instances, the very exuberance of their loyalty and zeal may lead the reader to regard these champions with some suspicion. It is otherwise with Father Lucas. He is clearly speaking after a careful study of the evidence, and in view of his hostile verdict, he cannot well be suspected of any undue partiality. If he has anything to say in the Friar's favour, it may surely be accepted without misgiving; and the friends of Fra Girolamo, instead of too hastily condemning our author's account of the case, might with more reason make some use of his testimony, and lay stress on some significant admissions. In the first place, Father Lucas justly acknowledges the orthodoxy of Fra Girolamo's doctrine, and dismisses the calumny that he was a pre-Reformation Protestant; and while the author cannot allow the *Frate's* claim to prophetic powers, he puts aside all suggestions of imposture. If the alleged revelations were due to a delusion, it was a delusion of which Fra Girolamo was himself the victim. The purity of

Savonarola's life, and his genuine zeal for religion and for moral reformation, are frankly and freely admitted ; and Father Lucas gives reasons for rejecting the prevailing notion that the fruit of his preaching was only ephemeral.

Even in his most hostile pages, those which treat of Savonarola's conflict with Pope Alexander, our author is at pains to show that he condemns the Friar's course as something wrong in itself, but does not accuse him of any conscious wrong-doing. For this reason, the words "objective" and "subjective" recur in these pages with well-nigh wearisome iteration. Nor is this all. Though his policy is condemned, and his prophetic claims rejected, and his ex-communication, and even the subsequent sentence of death are defended and justified, Fra Girolamo is none the less regarded as one who rendered a valuable service to the Church, and prepared the way for the Tridentine reformation.

"Fra Girolamo Savonarola had sounded the long-drawn and wailing blast of a fearless challenge to all the powers of wickedness. He had slipped and fallen in the shock of the first onset. But the notes of his trumpet-call reverberated through Christendom, and through the century that was so soon to dawn upon the world, and woke many an echo which heartened other men and women besides St. Philip Neri and St. Catherine of Ricci for their own combat with evil. The Church was scourged after another manner than that which he had foreseen. The face of the Church has been renewed, though not so 'soon and speedily' as he had imagined. In substance, however, more than one of Fra Girolamo's 'conclusions' have been made good, even though his revelations have been for the most part disallowed. And, all his errors and their consequences notwithstanding, the Church and the world owe him a debt of gratitude" (p. 439).

It is something when a writer who is constrained to justify the condemnation of Savonarola is found ready to admit so much in his favour ; and we fancy that not a few readers, who can follow Father Lucas thus far, will end by going a step further, and modifying or reversing his verdict on the great Florentine reformer. The eloquent passage from which we have just cited a few words, certainly suggests that Savonarola—call him prophet or what we will—had a real mission, and was raised up to rebuke the evil Churchmen who did so much to cause the religious rebellion of the next century. If Fra

Girolamo had borne himself differently, if he had yielded as our author would have him do, he might have escaped the sentence of his judges and the censure of historians; but in that case it may be doubted whether he would have done that service to the cause of true reform which is here ascribed to him. In this connection, Father Lucas makes use of a curious and ingenious comparison with recent English history.

"It was Kitchener, not Gordon, who conquered the Soudan. Yet, had it not been for Gordon's tragic death, there had been no Soudan expedition under Kitchener. And it may be that the leaders of the great Catholic revival of the sixteenth century were more indebted than they were aware to Fra Girolamo Savonarola" (*ibid.*)

It is a far cry from the peaceful work of Catholic reform to the slaughter of Omdurman. But the comparison may serve its purpose—though, at the same time, it helps to emphasise the difficulties of our author's position; for, while he rejoices in the victory of his Tridentine Kitchener, the Florentine Gordon is made the subject of censure, and his death is justified.

Elsewhere in the work Father Lucas dwells on the danger of Savonarola's attempt to procure the deposition of Pope Alexander, and says that we, "living four centuries later, have abundant reason to be thankful to an over-ruling Providence," that the reformer's mysterious threats were never put into execution. He admits, indeed, that the Friar's complete success—without an accompanying schism—might have proved a blessing; but this, in his opinion, was never possible (p. 367). It is difficult to deal with these hypothetical questions: but we cannot help remembering that a terrible schism did indeed follow not so many years after these events, and as a result the greater part of Northern Europe was lost to Catholic unity. If Savonarola had succeeded in securing a Catholic reformation before the rise of Luther this might well have been avoided; and it is not very easy to imagine any greater evil from which we have been delivered by his failure.

The present writer cannot stay to discuss the author's argument for the case against Savonarola, which is doubtless already sufficiently known to many of our readers, who have seen the original papers as they appeared in the *Tablet*; and for a fuller acquaintance with the whole subject the reader must betake himself to the book before us. As may be gathered from what has been said above, we cannot altogether accept the author's

verdict on the great Dominican : but let us hasten to add, this is not because we question the accuracy of the evidence, which he has brought together with such care and labour ; nor, on the other hand, do we dispute the soundness of the author's principles concerning the duty of submission to the Pope's authority and respect for his person. But these principles, excellent as they are, may be applied too rigidly in exceptional circumstances. It is true Father Lucas makes some allowance for the difficulties of the age, and it is mainly for this reason that he is able to regard Savonarola as acting from a mistaken sense of duty. But we feel the need of something more than this benevolent excuse of subjective delusion. This much may be allowed to men of another stamp, to Luther himself, or at least to some of his fellow-reformers. But in Savonarola's case it is by no means so clear that the course which he adopted was deserving of censure, even when viewed "objectively." We are not prepared to justify all his policy, but at least in some important points we fancy that he fails to fulfil the critic's standard of duty, because that standard is too narrow or is applied too rigidly. Ordinary rules are enough for ordinary cases ; but the treatise, "*De Statibus Particularibus*," does not deal with the duties and peculiar prerogatives of a prophet or a religious reformer. Even if we waive the question of prophetic prediction, there seems good reason for thinking that Fra Girolamo had a real mission to rouse and rebuke the evil Churchmen of the age, and warn them of the coming dangers ; and if this were so he might fairly claim a larger measure of freedom than that which falls to the lot of ordinary Christians.

These reflections may perhaps help the reader of this valuable volume to modify the severity of the author's verdict on Fra Girolamo Savonarola.

W. H. K.

Memoires d'un Ange Gardien. Par Mgr. CHARDON, Vicaire General de Clermont, Prelat de la Maison de Sa Sainteté. Troisième édition. Paris : P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette.

THIS book gives with much detail an account of the careful and tender patronage exercised by the Guardian Angel towards the precious deposit entrusted to it by God Himself. The diary is founded on Catholic doctrine from the sacred text, the Fathers and more recent spiritual authorities, and lives of the saints. The angel tells us how in heaven he

had long ardently desired an appointment to such a charge, and his joy on finally receiving it; what he felt and what he did in every circumstance, from the baptism of his *protégé* until he surrendered it in triumph at the throne of Him who confided it to his care. The ardent and intense love of the angelic guardian is charmingly depicted throughout, leaving the reader to realise, as best he can, the unexpressed wondrous love of God for a human soul. We venture to say there is no practical devotion in the Church so far in the background as that towards this guardian spirit. His presence is uncultivated, his affection unprized, and the sterling sincerity of his friendship is often utterly unvalued by most mortals.

M. M.

De Apostolatu Ordinis S. Benedicti : seu de vitæ Apostolicæ cum monastica ad normam traditionis Benedictinæ Concordia. Disquisitio Historica. Auctore D. ADAMO HAMILTON, O.S.B. Albi : Imprimerie des Apprentis-Orphelins. 1900.

THIS is a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, written by Dom Adam Hamilton, a monk of Buckfast Abbey. What has given occasion to the learned author to write this historical inquiry, apart from the precept of obedience, he does not say. He points out, however, sufficiently clearly, that there have been some who would interdict religious from Apostolic work altogether, and others who say that missionary monks are distinguished from secular priests only by the fact of being free from the inconvenience of poverty.

He divides his "inquiry" into several sections. In the first section he speaks of the golden age of Benedictine history, a period of nearly six centuries before A.D. 1300, during which period there was remarkable vigour in the blending of the active with the contemplative life. He then speaks of the character of the Benedictine rule; and in subsequent sections he proves historically the Benedictine apostolate from the great missionary work of the Order during the first four centuries of its existence, and from the large number of monks employed in that work. In the fifth section he deals with one important condition of the monastic apostolate, namely, the observance of regular life on the missions; and he urges that, except in cases of real necessity, the same kind of life should be observed on the missions as in the monasteries. This statement brings us face to face with a diversity of views held at the present day,

and we cannot pretend to discuss in a short notice the condition laid down by the author. It rests with the monastic superiors to adapt the monastic observances to the missionary needs, and *vice versâ*, mindful of the words of the author, that "our fathers used frequently to say that intercourse with seculars and the ways of seculars were hurtful to the monastic life."

The following two sections show that the union of the active and the contemplative life among the sons of St. Benedict has been sanctioned and promoted by the Apostolic See from the days of St. Gregory the Great to those of the present Supreme Pontiff, Leo XIII., and that the principle is maintained by saints and doctors of the Church. The Angelic Doctor is quoted, asserting the foolishness of the opinion of those who say that the religious state is essentially an impediment to the fulfilment of spiritual (*i.e.* missionary) duties. And the author finally points out that missionary work is not forbidden by St. Benedict's rule; and that as the rule neither commands it nor forbids it, and "the example of our elders exhorts us to it," it must be over and above the rule and not against the rule.

J. F.

Meditations de Saint Thomas, sur les trois vies, Purgative, Illuminative, et Unitives, pour les Retraites de dix jours, avec la pratique de ces Meditations, ou Traité des principales vertus dont les motifs et les actes sont expliqués en particulier. Par le R. P. ANTONIN MASSOULIÉ, de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs. Edition nouvelle. Paris.

THE title of this work is slightly misleading, as the Meditations were not compiled by the Angelic Doctor, but are extracted from his works, and put into their present shape by Père Massoulié, of the Dominican Order.

The book comprises a series of Meditations on each of the three lives, the Purgative, the Illuminative, and the Unitive, the two last being preceded by discourses in eleven and nine paragraphs respectively. About thirty Meditations on the Virtues bring the book to a close. It is meant, as the title-page tells, for a ten days' retreat, but can be equally used by all who have the anxiety and the leisure to forward their own sanctification. It has the imprimatur and high approval of the General and the theological faculty of the Order at Toulouse. Resting as it does on the teaching of St. Thomas, it can be

safely recommended as a sound, elevated, and instructive work, and one that should find a wide circulation.

M. M.

A Round Table of Representative French Catholic Novelists.

New York : Benziger Brothers. 8vo. Illustrated. Pp. 315.

THE above work carries out the excellent idea of presenting to our Catholic public selections from the works of the chief French Catholic novelists. A chapter is given to a sample from each author, so that the reader can judge for himself the style and merit of the writer. This introduction to the French author is happily made more vivid by an excellent photograph and short biographical notice given by way of preface to the selection from his writings. In this way, such gifted representatives of Catholic literature in France as Pierre l'Ermite, René Bazin, Raoul de Navery, Charles le Goffic, Madame Caro, Champol, Madame Blanc, A. de Lamothe, and last, but not of least interest, Comte de Villebois-Mareuil, whose tragic death on the field of battle in South Africa is still fresh in the recollection of the public. The work of translation has been well done, and the inimitable charm of French literature has suffered less than it usually does by the process. French novels are associated unhappily in Christian minds with much that is immoral and degrading, and people who love to generalise, especially in the condemnation of other countries, are apt to gather or convey the impression that all such literature across the Channel is a *massa damnata* of pornographic cleverness. This work will serve to inform those who have need to be informed that there is a Christian France, as well as an unchristian one, and that it possesses a school of Catholic literature which for beauty of thought and expression will compare, to say the least, with that which is to be found in any other country. The work will make an excellent gift book, and no boy or girl will rise from the perusal of its pages without a more graphic and intelligent idea of the novels and novelists of our fellow Catholics in France. To parents, it will serve as a fair guide of what is safest and best in French fiction to put into the hands of their children. Beyond this, we cannot but think that the idea of this and similar ventures, we trust on a larger and wider scale, may work for a higher usefulness. To make the beauty and charm of the literature of one people known and appreciated by another is one way of making the nations better known to each

other, of welding more closely the bonds of international sympathy and goodwill. And this is more especially important for the drawing more closely together of Catholics in the various countries. In these days, when so much silly and pestilential nonsense is talked about the "gulf" and "cleavage" between English-speaking and Latin Catholics, and when mischief-makers are seeking to degrade the Church into a sort of race dualism, reviving the *distinctio Judaei et Graeci* of earlier times, anything which helps us in any way, however small, to realise our indivisible solidarity as Catholics and the pitiable narrowness of such race-exclusiveness (which is insularity writ large), renders a service to the truest interests of the Church at the present time.

M.

The Literary Study of the Bible: An Account of the Leading Forms of Literature represented in the Sacred Writings. By RICHARD G. MOULTON, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago, late University Extension Lecturer (Cambridge and London). Revised and partly re-written. London: Isbister & Co., Limited. 1899.

IT is not altogether without some reason that the author of the present volume opens his preface with something like an apology for proposing "to add yet one more to the number of books on the Bible"; for, as he says further on, "there is a danger at the present moment, when the very bulk of the discussion tends to crowd out the thing discussed, and but one person is willing to read the Bible for every ten who are ready to read about it"; and though some of these multitudinous manuals are useful or necessary helps for the student of Scripture, in too many cases the authors merely do afresh what has already been better done by others. Happily, Professor Moulton's own volume is not one of those needless additions to Biblical literature; and it is certainly free from the reproach of helping to crowd out the subject which it discusses; for, in truth, the reader who turns its pages is not merely reading a "book about the Bible," since a considerable part of the volume is filled with passages of the sacred text, set forth in a way which may help to give the reader a new sense of their power and beauty.

The general purport of the book is sufficiently indicated by its

title. The author comes to the Bible not as a theologian, or a critical commentator, but as a student of literature. He leaves alone the question of inspiration and divine authority, as well as those problems of age and authorship which form the peculiar province of the "Higher Criticism"; and, instead of these things, he invites his readers to a study of the Bible as literature, and a careful examination of the various literary forms contained in the sacred volume.

It is true this is by no means the highest or most important aspect in which the Bible can be regarded; and the Catholic student can never lose sight of the divine inspiration, or consent to treat the sacred writings as though they were nothing more than literature. At the same time, when it is rightly and reverently used, this literary study has a very real value. Theologians who think first and foremost of the divine revelation contained in the Scriptures, and turn to the Church for its authentic interpretation, do not disdain the help afforded by a grammatical study of New Testament Greek or of the Semitic languages. And in the same way it may well be useful to examine the literary forms in which the inspired writings are cast, and compare them with kindred types in other and lesser literatures. In some points, this may serve to throw light on obscure passages in the text, and in any case it can hardly fail to reveal some beauties which had else been passed by unheeded.

Thus, to begin with one broad and obvious division, the Bible is partly prose and partly poetry. And it is clear that the sacred book must be better understood and appreciated when the reader is enabled to distinguish the one from the other, and has some knowledge of the nature and principles of Biblical poetry; and the book before us puts this in ready reach of many who are otherwise unacquainted with the subject. As the fundamental principle of Hebrew poetry consists in the parallelism or antithesis of ideas, or what Ewald calls *Gedankenrhythmus*, its beauties can be enjoyed even by those whose studies are confined to an English translation; but they may be easily overlooked by readers accustomed to another form of poetry if they are not assisted by some such guide as Professor Moulton. Were it only for this reason, we should be inclined to welcome the appearance of the present volume; but the author is able to introduce his reader to many other more recondite distinctions. Both in the prose and in the poetry of the Bible, there are many

varieties and distinctive forms which are here set forth and illustrated by a comparison with kindred types in other branches of literature.

Here much can be done by the resources of typography, and the reader's attention can be silently drawn to the rhythm of the lines by their ordered arrangement. Most of us would lose something in reading poetry printed continuously like plain prose; and in some of the more intricate forms of lyric verse modern editors take care to help the reader's eye by a system of indentation, in which the corresponding lines may at once be recognised by their position. In the copious extracts which serve as examples of the various forms of Biblical literature our author applies the same method to the thought-rhythm and parallelism of Bible poetry. This is certainly a great improvement on the arrangement adopted in our ordinary Bibles, wherein there is nothing to distinguish the poetry from the prose, and continuous paragraphs are cut up into verses, so that the unwary reader may easily lose sight of their unity. In both these respects the editors of the English Revised Version have made some important changes, though they hardly come up to the standard of the present volume.

In his treatment of the subject Professor Moulton has done good service, and his work should be welcome to all Biblical students, as well as to those who are interested in the comparative study of literature. At the same time, as is only natural, he somewhat overrates the importance of this literary analysis, and he hardly seems to do justice to those who have laboured in the field before him. A reader unacquainted with the subject might be led to suppose that this question of literary form had been neglected by earlier commentators or modern Higher Critics; yet, as we need hardly say, this is very far from being the case. Kuenen himself has bestowed considerable labour on this aspect of the sacred writings, and Ewald has given us a careful analysis of the various forms of Biblical poetry. What, again, can be more purely literary than such a work as Fürst's "*Geschichte der Biblischen Literatur*"? Among recent Catholic labourers in this field it will be enough to mention Dr. Kaulen and Professor Bickell.

In the same way we fancy that our author makes too much of the harm done by the ordinary division of the text into chapters and verses, and he certainly seems to exaggerate the extent, as well as the effects, of the system. In spite of Protestant preju-

dice to the contrary, the largest amount of Bible reading is that accomplished by the Catholic clergy throughout the world in the daily recitation of the Divine Office ; and here, at any rate, the prose is not cut up into verses, but printed continuously, and but little attention is paid to the division into chapters. Moreover, the Psalms and Canticles are distinguished from the prose lessons by their arrangement in verses. The reader of the Roman Breviary is scarcely in danger of regarding the Bible as a "collection of isolated sentences."

It may perhaps be said that the author is thinking only of English Bible readers, and cannot be expected to know much of Catholic customs ; but, unfortunately, he describes the tendency to treat the Bible in this disjointed fashion as a "mediæval tendency," and he gravely tells us that "the thought of the Middle Ages was distinguished by disconnectedness" (p. 84). It seems that the chief literary activity of the period was the formulation of truth in brief dependent sentences, like the theses of Luther ! May we venture to submit that St. Thomas Aquinas is, all things on the whole, a better representative of mediæval methods than the German reformer ? And in the whole range of literature there is no nobler masterpiece of connected thinking than his "*Summa Theologica*."

The great Schoolmen were, indeed, remarkable for subtlety in dialectics, but the most striking feature of their work is the unity of structure. In truth, their chief power was the architectonic faculty ; and what is more to our purpose, this same grasp of a large unity which is displayed in their own original creations, is equally conspicuous in their comments on the work of others. Does St. Thomas treat Aristotle's books as a collection of separate sentences ? On the contrary, he looks forward to the end and grasps the drift of a whole chapter or section in a way which may well surprise a modern reader. And, naturally enough, the same may be seen in his commentaries on Scripture. If Professor Moulton will look at the Angelic Doctor's comments on the first fifty Psalms, he will see that mediæval masters knew how to treat each Biblical poem as an organic whole, and not as a mere string of isolated verses.

It is necessary to call attention to these blemishes in the book before us, though they do not affect its value as a contribution to Biblical literature, for the general excellence of the volume should give it a wide circulation. And there will doubtless be some opportunity for corrections in later editions.

It should be added that the value of the work is enhanced by the addition of A Metrical System of Biblical Verse, and a Literary Index to the Bible.

W. H. K.

1.—**Synopses Omnium Librorum Utriusque Testamenti.**

RUDOLPHO CORNELY, S.J. Auctore. P. Lethiellieux. 1899.

2.—**Psalmorum Synopses.** Paris: P. Lethiellieux. 1899.

FATHER CORNELY'S "Introduction to Sacred Scripture" is known to and appreciated by Catholic students. In the special introduction to the books of the Old and New Testaments the learned author supplies the reader with synopses in every case; and they are often of great service in the elucidation of complicated or obscure passages.

It is not, however, in the power of every student to become possessed of Father Cornely's larger work. Accordingly, a few years ago, he published a compendium, now largely used as a text-book in colleges. But it was not found possible, owing to want of space, to furnish the compendium with a full analysis and synopsis of each of the sacred books.

The first of the works before us is intended to supply this defect. The "Synopses" is a companion volume to the "Compendium." The "Synopses," in fact, reproduces in an amended and more complete form the analysis of the sacred text which is contained in the larger edition of the learned Jesuit's Introduction. But over and above that it sets forth, in a short prefatory notice, the origin of each book and the object with which it was written.

Ten years ago, Father Cornely published in a separate volume synopses of all the books of the New Testament. A new edition of that work having been called for, the author consented, in response to the appeals of his friends, to enlarge it so as to embrace the books both of the Old and New Testaments. The result is the volume before us.

The "Psalmorum Synopses" is, as its name would lead one to believe, merely a reprint of that portion of the larger work relating to the Psalms. It contains, however, in addition, a brief though instructive introduction on the psalter.

We commend both volumes to the reader. The Synopses of the Psalms ought to be useful to all who are desirous of becoming familiar with the inspired psalmody of Israel.

J. A. H.

La Morale Stoïcienne en face de la Morale Chrétienne.

L'Abbé A. Chollet, Docteur en Théologie, Professeur à l'Université Catholique de Lille. Paris : P. Lethielleux, 1898.

THIS little book might seem, at first sight, to belong to the domain of the history of philosophy. But a further examination shows us that it is really a contribution to the literature of Christian Apologetics. For, though the Abbé Chollet is dealing with the doctrines and influence of an ancient school of philosophy, it is clear from the outset that his purpose is polemical, and he looks less to the history of the past, than to the needs of present controversy. Most students of theology are aware that Unitarian divines, and some other writers, have maintained that the fundamental dogma of the Christian Creed is plagiarised from Platonic sources. But, in this country at least, less has been heard of an analogous theory, which has found favour with some French philosophers—to wit, that the first preachers of the Gospel borrowed their morality from the school of the Stoics. It is in order to combat this theory that the Abbé Chollet has written the present volume, in which he gives us a succinct account of the main tenets of the Stoics, and compares and contrasts them with the sublime moral teaching of the New Testament.

The work is clearly and forcibly written, with all that method and orderly arrangement which might be expected of a French professor of theology. The author lays little claim to originality, for more than one Catholic writer has been in the field before him; and, indeed, from the nature of the case, it was hardly possible for him to bring forward any fresh evidence, or any arguments which had not already done duty in the discussion. At the same time, the limits of the volume were against any full or exhaustive treatment of the subject. All that the author could do was to arrange the familiar topics in due order, treating them with freshness and vigour, and giving his readers within a small compass a judicious selection of matter which must else be sought in large and voluminous writings. And in this, it must be allowed, that he has had no mean measure of success.

But if the Abbé Chollet has so far attained his main object and provided an antidote to the dangerous doctrine, that the Apostles were mere disciples of Zeno and Seneca, the book is by no means free from shortcomings.

Some readers will probably think that the author's picture of the Stoics is, to say the least, too darkly shaded. This is doubtless due, in some measure, to the polemical purpose of the volume. When a writer is engaged in proving that Christian morals are not borrowed from the Stoics, he naturally lays stress on the points of difference which separate the two systems, and dwells on the errors and imperfections of the Stoic philosophy. It is true that the present author does not neglect the nobler elements of the doctrine of the Porch, which bring it nearer to Christianity; and he even gives us a translation of one of the finest monuments of Stoic literature, the hymn of Cleanthes to Jupiter. Still, these brighter pages are naturally less prominent than the others, and the picture is consequently somewhat one-sided. And though the author's hostile criticism is generally well warranted, he sometimes seems inclined to press too hardly on the Stoic philosophers, and some of his arguments might be retorted against Christian moralists, who have their own share of faults and inconsistencies; nor is the evidence always satisfactory. Thus, we are told that the Stoic teaching led to arrogance in its professors. But some of the passages to which the author refers us, are scarcely convincing. Tacitus, for example, does not give an instance of Stoic arrogance, but merely reports the charge made by an enemy against one who pretended to be a Stoic. And Juvenal's satire is not exactly history. Greater moderation in censure, and a more sympathetic treatment of the Stoic philosophers, would make the book a yet more effective answer to the theorists, against whom it is directed.

In accordance with a well-known French custom, the book is preceded by a preface from another hand. In the present instance, the literary sponsor is Mgr. Baunard, Rector of the Catholic Faculties of Lille. And it is somewhat amusing to find the Abbé Chollet closing his volume with a graceful compliment to that eminent writer—an illustration, we may suppose, of the homely philosophy that "one good turn deserves another."

W. H. K.

A Visit to the Roman Catacombs. By Rev. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, D.D., Provost of Birmingham. London: S. Anselm's Society, 9, Agar Street, Charing Cross. R. & T. Washbourne, Agents. 1899.

VERY welcome is this new edition of a valuable little work on a subject which, in this country at any rate, Provost Northcote and Bishop Brownlow have made peculiarly their own. It is not a question of criticism here: we need only mention that in this small volume—with its good print, we may add, and its useful illustrations—is to be found a summary, at once learned and concise, on the origin, history, and characteristic features of the Catacombs. We are thus given a complete outline of the subject; while for those who wish to study the matter further, there is here provided an introduction to the larger work by the authors above mentioned.

Professor Orr, of Edinburgh, in his "Morgan Lectures" of 1897, alluded to the evidence of the Catacombs as one of the "neglected factors" in the study of the early progress of Christianity, and proceeded to utilise their evidence so far as his own subject required. That the English-speaking non-Catholic world should be interesting itself in this subject, which to Catholics must ever be of vital importance, is due in great part to the learned author of the present work, and is clear witness to the success of his labours.

J. H.

The Life of Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, with a preliminary account of the sources of the Saint's history. By WILLIAM BULLEN MORRIS, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Fifth Edition. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1898.

THAT the above work has gone through so many editions is clear evidence of its appreciation by the reading Catholic public. And the reason may be this, that the author seems to show two of the chief qualities to be desired in a writer of biography, viz., a full valuing of the true sources of information, and at the same time a severe restraint on all inferences deduced therefrom. Thus, while in no way decrying the existing ancient lives of St. Patrick, he prefers not to exercise upon them "hypothesis, invention, rhetoric," as some modern writers have done, but to study them

in the light of the Saint's own writings. The *Confession*, *Epistle*, and *Hymn of St. Patrick* are, he contends, a true autobiographical revelation, and must be used as the interpreter of the *Acta*. Where this interpreter fails to make things clear, it is far better to leave them frankly a mystery than to indulge in endless conjectures.

A most interesting "Life" is the result, as we might suppose, in which the most prominent features are the characteristics of ancient Irish life, and the character of St. Patrick himself, as gathered from his own words.

J. H.

L'Education des Jeunes Filles d'après Madame de Maintenon. Par le R. P. LEBERCIER, de l'ordre de St. Dominique.
Paris : Ancienne Maison Charles Doumol, Téqui Successeur, 29, Rue de Tournon.

THIS work comprises a collection of instructions drawn from those addressed by Mme. de Maintenon to the pupils of the famous "Maison St. Cyr," founded by her for the education of young girls of noble family, but without fortune. In a prefatory letter Monseigneur le Nordez, Bishop of Dijon, regrets that Louis XIV. was not also made to play a part in these pages, since much of the success of the work was due to his prudent and firm counsels. However this may be, it is a volume which will possess both use and interest for those occupied in the education of young girls, though, in England, teachers will do well to remember that these lessons were addressed to the *jeune fille* on the other side of the Channel, and not to the frank, independent girlhood of our modern England. It is, nevertheless, most interesting to note that Mme. de Maintenon's pupils were not free, even in those days, from an attraction towards a life of singleness and independence. We think the bachelor girl a creation of the nineteenth century, but she seems to have had her representatives even then. And, furthermore, it is striking to find their benefactress informing them that France is the country of the world in which they will find themselves the freest. Mme. de Maintenon shows in these pages a firm, masculine spirit. She desires to raise her *protégées* above the weaknesses incidental to their age and position, and to make them strong souls, capable of meeting the dangers which awaited them outside the convent gates. She does not neglect the ordinary maxims of human prudence and wisdom,

while she nevertheless appeals in all cases to the higher supernatural element. She is evidently embarrassed between her desire to leave them full liberty in the choice of vocation, and her anxiety lest if they should *not* choose the path of religious life they might find no other road open to them. This is obviously to be regretted, as nothing is more fatal to the high standard of religious life than the principle of *faute de mieux* selection. One may hope that, in any use made of this volume in convent schools such passages will be amended and explained. Again, in her desire to preserve them from frivolity she speaks about dress in a manner which would simply rouse a spirit of contradiction in most girls. It may be very true that modesty is a woman's best adornment, still young people will naturally retort that they can be modest without looking hideous. She was doubtless inspired in all this matter by her genuine anxiety for their future, knowing that they might be exposed to the dangers of the *grand monde* without the protection which could only be conferred by the possession of fortune as well as family. Still it is hard to lay before a number of young girls the prospect of unending mediocrity and obscurity, and one is not surprised to note that there was a fair amount of resistance on these subjects. It would, perhaps, have been wiser not to crush the budding ambition with too much rigour, nor to close too violently in their faces the gates of the earthly Paradise; it may have roused a more eager desire to climb the palings. And the lesson must have sounded harder from the lips of one who had a fair share of those worldly honours which were not to be for her pupils; the little peeps she vouchsafed them at times of her own surroundings must have further irritated their curiosity and youthful ambition.

There are amusing anecdotes scattered here and there throughout the volume, speaking of that foolish attachment to confessors from which she wished to guard them; while, at the same time, encouraging a careful choice in the matter and reasonable submission, she relates the history of a *dévote* of the Court, who went to hear her director preach while her husband was dying. Her friends came round her afterwards, and asked: "Comment se porte-t-il?" presuming that their question would be understood. She answered, with a sigh: "Hélas: il est monté en chaire malgré son rhume!" The poor woman became the sport of the Court ever after.

Altogether a great charm of personality breathes through

these pages. The piety inculcated is solid and real, and with judicious handling and adaptation to modern surroundings the instructions should be of use to both teachers and pupils.

M. D. P.

This Church and Realm: Some Difficulties of the Day.
Examined by the Rev. E. C. BROOKE, M.A., Vicar of
St. John the Divine, Kennington. London: Rivingtons,
34, King Street, Covent Garden, 1899.

THE subjects dealt with in this volume of lectures are: "Canonical Obedience and Church Courts," "The Ornaments Rubric," "The Eastward Position," "Vestments," "Incense," and "Reservation"—all of them clearly of great interest to Anglicans of to-day. The author claims to be "neither a theologian nor a ritualist" (*sic*), but only a "parish priest" striving—and no doubt sincerely—"to allay the present agitation" by showing—

The reasonableness and loyalty of the position of those who believe that the Catholic interpretation of the Church's rubrics and services is most in accord with all that was best in the Reformation Settlement (*Preface*).

"All that was best," we presume, means all that seems best to Mr. Brooke and his friends; yet his attempt throughout the book is to give a Catholic meaning to the Reformation Settlement itself—an impossible task, which no amount of earnestness and sincerity could achieve.

On the "loyalty" of the position we need not dwell: its "reasonableness," never clear to an outsider, must have become at least questionable to Anglicans themselves since the recent utterances on Incense and Reservation by their "right reverend fathers in God"—utterances which brush aside as futile and irrelevant all appeal to "primitive antiquity" or to "Catholic custom" by a plain command to adhere to existing State-made law.

We may call attention, however, in the present work, to that strange confusion of thought which finds evidence of "continuity" in the claim to it, and considers a declaration of intent not to separate at the Reformation as equivalent to a *de facto* non-separation. And, of course, we find the usual attempts to foist the Royal supremacy on pre-Reformation times, and to saddle Puritanism with all the inconvenient crimes of the Reformation Settlement.

Whether any book, or any number of books, could "allay the

present agitation," we know not ; but it would seem that the book under notice is likely to satisfy only the section to which the author belongs. On the one hand, he is "not a bit ashamed of the Reformation," is content with Royal supremacy, and desires comprehensiveness without innovation ; on the other hand, he holds the authority of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to be "usurped," and maintains that somebody or something ought to restore judicial and legislative power to the bishops, so that the collective Episcopate could become the final court of religious appeal—always supposing that its decisions proved to be in accord with "what the Lord commanded and this Church and Realm hath received." Incense, it seems, is to be more potent than doctrine in uniting East and West ; and while Christ is really present in the Eucharist, and is to be worshipped wherever He is present, and while Anglicans desire and "must have" Reservation for the sick, yet Reservation "for purposes of worship" must be set aside, as leading to error and irreverence !

While sympathising, as we necessarily do, with all in the book that is Catholic in spirit and tendency, we wish to raise a mild protest against the way the author regards the Catholic Church itself. Is it not time that Anglican writers, professedly so full of charity and desire for unity, should cease to revile "Rome" for an imagined "supercilious want of charity" and an equally visionary "avowed contempt and unfriendliness"—which, it appears, would make it a "sacrilege" (!) for any one to join her—just because she is unable to give up divine truth and Catholic life in exchange for the unauthorised theories of this or that section of Anglican thought ?

J. H.

For the French Lilies. By ISABEL NIXON WHITELEY.
B. Herder, Freiburg. 1900.

WE have here a stirring tale of the good old days of mediæval campaigns, chivalry, and courtship, told after the language of the chroniclers of the period, and told very prettily and picturesquely by the hero himself, Marcel St. Eymond. Marcel is an only child ; his mother died when he was too young to hold her in any remembrance. But his father has treasured her memory with deep love and rare constancy. Marcel has grown up in the old family fortress, much left to himself, but he has spent his time innocently enough. He is

nineteen years of age when introduced to us, an age, his father wisely thinks, when a choice of career should be made and followed. Marcel elects for that of arms, a selection which ill pleases his uncle, Messire Vincenzio, into whose care his father commits him. Messire Vincenzio is a banker with a very flourishing business and a very pretty daughter. He is, however, a scheming villain, though smiling and specious. His uncle agrees to use his influence to obtain for his nephew a place in the household of the Duchess of Ferrara. The reason why Marcel's father abandons, as it were, the care and protection of his only son and heir is that he has determined to devote his remaining days to God in the Monastery of the Chartreuse at Grenoble.

Thus it comes to pass that uncle and nephew set out together for the latter's house. Here begin a series of very eventful and exhilarating adventures. Marcel accidentally overhears much plotting and scheming destined to make a speedy end of him, and to bring the estates to which he is heir into his uncle's possession. Marcel rescues a lady in the road from the hands of some wandering and plundering soldiery; he resists the wily yet fascinating advances of his cousin Margherita; he receives from her a mysterious and dreadful ring, and sets out to join the Chevalier Bayard, with whom he serves and sees much service. Here we must leave Marcel, assuring our readers that they will gladly take up the threads we have dropped.

A. G. O.

Les Amitiés de Jésus. Simple Etudes, par le R. P. M. J. OLLIVIER, des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris: Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette.

THIS book treats of the special and particular affection our Divine Lord was pleased to entertain, while on earth, for a few chosen friends, who were the chief solace of His laborious and suffering life. The author divides them into three classes. First, relatives by blood, comprising His Blessed Mother, St. Joseph, Zachary, Elizabeth, and St. John the Baptist. The second class consists of those dear ones who had no claim on His Heart beyond His own free choice. They were Lazarus and his two sisters, Martha and Mary Magdalene. The last section includes His fellow-labourers on the mission, the Apostles (notably Peter, John, and James the Greater), the disciples, the holy women, and the converts He made. A sur-

prising amount of detail accompanies the reader to the last page, and is of such a searching, exceedingly natural, and attractive kind, that one wonders where it was procured, and has to fall back on the devotion to the Sacred Heart to account for it. Graphic incident, sublime ideas, abundant beautiful matter, with the golden threads of a Saviour's love, and that reciprocated by the hearts it acted upon, running with every line, all charm the reader back among the days, the places, and the persons themselves, and give him such a vivid picture of all as is not to be found elsewhere. We refrain from commenting on any particular chapter or paragraph, as such would only suffer unjustly from the touch of our pen. But in the face of all we say we are forced to regret the fact of the author so frequently quoting Renan as an authority, and, on the other hand, treating the visions of Sister Emmerich with undue depreciation. In a note (p. 10) he inclines to a belief in the close consanguinity between our Blessed Lady and St. Joseph, which neither he, nor Fouard, whom he quotes, attempts to prove, and which, therefore, should not be broached at all in the absence of such proof.

But apart from these apparent defects, every reader must admit that the work is a useful and attractive one; and every reader, too, will, at the last page, lay down the book as the writer did, with the heartfelt regret that there was not another volume added.

JN. M.

Over the Rocky Mountains to Alaska. By CHARLES WARREN STODDARD. B. Herder, Freiburg. 1900.

THIS little volume appears to be notes of a holiday trip from Notre Dame, Indiana, to Sitka, Alaska. The traveller's powers of observation seem divided between pretty girls and pretty scenery, and his leisure, of which he has evidently plenty, has gone to "chasing the girls from one end of the ship to the other"—a harmless enough amusement, doubtless, but one more interesting to the person engaged in it than the general reader. Yet the young globe-trotter has a certain descriptive literary power, as the following would seem to show: "I suppose a narrow-gauge road can go anywhere. It trails along the slope of shelving hills like a wild vine; it slides through gopher-hole tunnels as a thread slides through the eye of a needle; it utilises watercourses; it turns ridiculously sharp corners in a style calculated to remind one of the days when he played 'snap the whip,' and happened to be the snapper himself. This is

especially the case if one is sitting on the near platform of the last car. We shot a cañon by daylight, and marvelled at the glazed surface of the red rock, with never so much as a scratch over it. On the one hand we nearly scraped the abrupt perpendicular wall that towered hundreds of feet above us; on the other, a swift, muddy torrent sprang at our stone-bedded sleepers as if to snatch them away. . . . The stream was swollen, and went howling down the ravine full of sound and fury."

The writer has evidently had a very pleasant holiday trip in a very pleasant country, and describes it buoyantly, if boyishly.

A. G. O.

Critique d'une Nouvelle Exégèse Critiquée, par M. LE CHANOINE MAGNIER. Paris : P. Lethiellieux.

"UNE école catholique très moderne semble promouvoir avec prédilection cette exégèse qui a plus d'un point de contact avec celle de la *critique supérieure* tant vantée par les rationalistes." So writes M. Magnier in the first page of his little work; and he continues, on the second:—"Je pense que les écrivains catholiques ne doivent point laisser passer sans protestation les nouveautés qui s'étalent sous le couvert trompeur de la science."

These words are susceptible of very different interpretations. There are, unfortunately, Catholics in these days who have been so captivated by the false glamour of rationalistic philosophy and criticism as to cast aside the fundamental principle of authority and sever their connection with the Church. Catholic writers are not slow to deal with such as these.

But there are others—good and earnest Catholics—who see that it is not to the interest of the Church to leave modern science entirely in the hands of those outside the fold—that they should shut their eyes to the giant strides made in these latter days by archæology, history, philology, biology, and literary criticism. They see no reason why questions of authorship, and even of interpretation, regarding Holy Scripture should not be settled in our time, though they were or seemed insoluble in the days of our fathers. Nor do they agree that Catholics should not make use of modern methods of criticism, merely because these same methods have been employed by others sometimes for unworthy ends.

M. Magnier seems to us to look upon the question of Biblical

criticism from a very narrow point of view. It is not owing to the writings of the Catholics to whom he refers that France has become so largely infidel; rather is it owing to the policy of the school to which he himself belongs, which, with the best intentions, no doubt, has debarred Catholics of talent from exercising themselves in these methods, used with such baneful effect by such men as Renan and the like.

It is much to be lamented that Catholics have not had, in these latter years, a larger share in the great work of textual and literary criticism, archæological and historical discovery, and philology, than has actually been the case. But there are signs that they now mean to make up for lost time.

J. A. H.

Short Catechism of Church History. For the Higher Grades of Catholic Schools. By Rev. J. B. OECHTERING. St. Louis, Mo., 1899. Published by B. Herder, 17, South Broadway.

CONSIDERING the difficulty of compressing Church History into a Catechism of some 130 pages, this book may be called a success, inasmuch as it gives briefly and neatly what may fairly be taken as the leading points of the subject.

There are, however, some incidental defects. St. Clement I. is called on page 6 "fourth successor" (of St. Peter), and yet is put as third successor in the table of Popes at the end. Again, it is scarcely correct to call S. Gregory "the father of Plain Chant" (p. 19), or to say that the Calendar of Gregory XIII. "was gratefully received by the whole christian world" (p. 120), or that Leo XIII. "has governed the Church . . . to the end of this century" (p. 78), while the expression "in a similar manner as Luther" (p. 57) is not English. Then it is surely misleading merely to say of S. Justin that he wrote "an apology to M. Aurelius" (p. 11), when the first and greater of his two apologies was addressed to Antoninus Pius; misleading also is it to call Henry VIII. "the founder of the Episcopalians or Anglicans" (p. 58), or to call the doubtful Popes at Avignon "Antipopes" (p. 116), or the victories of Tolbiac and Lepanto "miraculous" (pp. 25, 41).

Again, while it is usual to consider the great persecutions as ten in number, it is not usual to make the persecution under Hadrian a new one (seeing that it was but a lingering on of Trajan's), and then to omit all mention of the distinctly new one

which arose from the edict of Aurelian, and which is generally called the ninth.

But the most noticeable defect is the printing twice over of pp. 21, 24, 25, 28, to the exclusion of pp. 34, 35, 36, 37.

Such blemishes as these, however, could be easily removed in a further edition.

J. H.

Mary, Queen of Scots, 1542-1587. Extracts from the English, Spanish, and Venetian State Papers, Buchanan, Knox, Lesley, Melville, the "Diurnal of Occurrents," Nau, etc., etc. Arranged and edited by ROBERT S. RAIT, M.A. (Aberdon.), Exhibitioner of New College, Oxford. London : David Nutt, 270-71, Strand. 1899.

THIS is the second volume of the "Scottish History from Contemporary Writers" series, which is itself a companion one to the "English History from Contemporary Writers" series. These books are not, and are not intended to be, histories in the ordinary sense of the word. They are, in fact, something much more useful to the real student—viz. : Collections of original historical materials, on the basis of which he may construct historical chapters for himself. The extracts given, as the title shows, are not all equally important, nor all equally trustworthy in themselves ; but they are all contemporary to the period treated, and are thus all helpful, each in its way, for the forming of a true picture of the time.

In the present instance we are not given an exhaustive life of the ill-fated Queen of Scots, nor a complete history of Scotland in her day.

The attention of the reader (says the editor) has been concentrated upon the six active years of Mary's life, from her arrival in Scotland in August, 1561, to her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle in June, 1567. . . . The editor's main aim has been to place before the reader, as fairly as possible, the evidence for the divergent views of Mary's life and character. . . . The selection of extracts has also been influenced by a desire to give prominence to the condition of Scotland at the time, and to the religious difficulty associated with the person of John Knox ; while an attempt has been made to bring into relief the personality of the rival queens. (Preface.)

It should be added that the book is suitably illustrated, and that on the occasions where the editor's own comments are called for, they seem to us fair-minded and judicious.

J. H.

La Pratique de l'Humilité. Par S.S. Le Pape LÉON XIII.
Traduction de l'Italien par l'Abbé F. M. DIDIER. Paris :
Vivès. 1898.

THE publishers of this precious treatise on Humility would have rendered a greater service to the faithful had they presented the Abbé Didier's excellent translation in a form more in keeping with the value of the original and the dignity of its august author. In spite, however, of the indifferent paper and poor type, the little manual should circulate. Written for the seminarists at Perugia when Leo XIII. was its bishop, the "Practice of Humility" will be found useful in every college where priests or laymen are trained in the religion which none can enter and none can continue in, unless they humble themselves and become as little children. Sixty pregnant paragraphs from the Pope's pen are followed by a sermon of St. Augustine on the same groundwork of the Christian virtues, by "Thoughts" from ascetical writers who have treated this important subject, and, last of all, by a beautiful prayer for Humility by the venerable author of the "Imitation," Thomas à Kempis.

G. H.

The Paraclete. A Manual of Instruction and Devotion. By
Father MARIANUS FIEGE, O. M. Cap. New York : Benziger.
1899. 3s.

THIS manual has been suggested by the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII., in which his Holiness decrees and commands that throughout the whole Catholic Church a Novena shall be made before Whit Sunday in all parish churches. Father Marianus has drawn up a valuable series of prayers and meditations for this Novena. He has done more. In order that the faithful may acquire and practise genuine and sound devotion to the Holy Ghost he has supplied in clear, homely language a complete theological treatise on the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. Catholics will find in this handy volume everything they can desire to know about the Holy Ghost and the Mystery of the Incarnation, the Holy Ghost and the Church, the Holy Ghost and the means of salvation. Priests who have to prepare candidates for confirmation cannot procure a better book for their purpose, whilst the laity have here within a small compass every help they need when they desire to find expression for

their love and gratitude towards that Supreme Spirit by Whose influence all that is good, noble and beautiful within the soul of man is brought out and raised to perfection.

G. H.

The Divine Consoler. Little Visits to the Most Holy Sacrament. By J. M. ANGÉLI, of the Lazarist Fathers. Translated from the French by GENEVIÈVE IRONS. London: Burns & Ooates. 2s. 6d.

LOVERS of the Blessed Sacrament will welcome this Companion to the Altar. It bears the *imprimatur* of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Originally written in French for the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, it should in its new dress prove useful to English-speaking Catholics in all parts of the world. To the visits, thirty in all, are added "Prayers" from à Kempis and others, and "Consoling Thoughts" from St. Vincent de Paul.

The following extract from Visit xxv. will show the worth of the book and the skill of the translator :

My daughter—Not to give thyself to Me when all that I desire is to give Myself to thee—would that be really to communicate? What do I care for all thy gifts if they are not accompanied by the gift of thyself? . . . Without Me nothing can suffice thee; without thee nothing can please Me.

Oh, my daughter, give Me thine heart

I say not to thee, *Lend* Me thine heart. I wish alone to be the sole proprietor of that heart, which I have made for Myself.

I say not to thee, *Let* Me thy heart. To let one's heart is to offer it for the sake of a recompense. But if thou wert to act with so little generosity thou wouldst already have thy reward.

I say not to thee, *Sell* Me thy heart. They sell their hearts to Me who serve Me only for the sake of heaven and its rewards, and I will that thou shouldst forget thyself.

My daughter, My daughter! Oh! *give* Me thy heart. . . .

G. H.

The Perfect Religious. By Monseigneur D'ORLÉANS DE LA MOTTE, Bishop of Amiens. Benziger. 1900. 4s.

A COMPARISON between this book and Father A. Devine's classic work, "Convent Life," reveals how little the interior spirit of the cloister is affected by the flight of years, whatever changes these may bring in the visible manifestation of the religious life. Written before the French Revolution, the wise counsels of the Bishop of Amiens are as fresh and practical as if they had been penned yesterday. Confessors to convents and others to whom the direction of nuns is entrusted will derive great benefit from these pages, which are

replete with unction and common-sense. The translation is fluent and idiomatic. The binding and type are excellent.

G. H.

A Book of Spiritual Instruction : Institutio Spiritualis. By BLOSIUS. Translated from the Latin by BERTRAND A. WILBERFORCE, of the Order of St. Dominic. London and Leamington : Art & Book Company. 1900. 2s. 6d. net.

ABBÉ JEAN DE LAMENNAIS writing to a friend said to him : " We are sending you two copies of the ' Institutio Spiritualis.' I hope you will like Blossius ; he is so pious, so holy. He speaks of God with such burning love and penetrating earnestness ! The purest maxims of the spiritual life flow from his pen, or rather, gush from his heart, with ineffable sweetness. There, I love Blossius with all my soul."

To this hearty appreciation by the holy brother of the unfortunate Félix de Lamennais it is only necessary to add that Louis de Blois has always enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity and learning. His book was written when the Benedictine Abbot of Liessies was in the prime of life. Every page bears witness to his ripe experience in the government of souls. Though short it is a treasure of heavenly wisdom and unction.

The chief excellence of this golden treatise, according to the learned translator, seems to lie in this—that Blossius directs the eye of the soul away from itself, its own miseries and shortcomings, to God, His beauty and perfection. " My eyes are ever on the Lord " might be taken, says Father Wilberforce, as the motto of the work. All who have to deal with souls will understand the value of this direction, for if people aiming at holiness can only be got to look at God instead of themselves, the battle is more than half won, victory becomes certain. The object held before the soul is union with God. For this came we into the world, and Blossius shows us in simple, plain language, how we are practically to aim at this exalted end.

The book contains twelve chapters, an interesting and valuable preface by the translator, and an appendix from the works of John Tauler, O.P., " the illuminated doctor," whom Blossius held in high estimation.

Father Wilberforce speaks too deprecatingly of his translation, which is clear, nervous, and smooth.

G. H.

Nigeria. By CHARLES HENRY ROBINSON, M.A. London: Horace Marshall & Co. 1900.

MR. ROBINSON has an interesting chapter on "Missionary Enterprise in Nigeria," which as yet is in its infancy. Hitherto it has been attempted only in Southern Nigeria, but ground is about to be broken in Northern Nigeria by Bishop Tugwell, Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa, who started some time ago with four English missionaries, including two clergymen and a qualified doctor, to found a station in Kano, or at some smaller town on the way thither from the coast. Nowhere, says the author, is there to be found a people so civilised and intelligent who have never heard of Christianity, a fact which lends a unique interest to the experiment. The inhabitants of Nigeria are at present roughly divided as regards religion into three sections, the first Mohammedan, the second pagan, and the third halting between the two creeds, their idols having been destroyed by the Mohammedans; but the attempt to induce them to profess the faith of Islam has failed, chiefly, it is averred, in consequence of the fast of Ramadan, to which they have an invincible aversion. Mr. Robinson expresses the conviction, shared by most of those who have studied the subject, that heathenism will, in another hundred years, be extinct in Africa, and that the future of the continent will lie between Mohammedanism and Christianity. He does not, however, share the belief of some other writers, that the former will come out victorious in the struggle, his conviction being, on the contrary, that Islam has played its part in the Dark Continent, and that its influence has culminated. He instances the Soudan, and quotes Emin Pasha to the effect that the Mahdi's propaganda has been as great a failure from a social as from a religious point of view. In the last twenty years, according to this authority, Islam has scarcely made ten proselytes in the whole of the central provinces to the south of Khartoum. Although in Uganda and the adjoining regions it seemed some time ago to make considerable progress, its expansion was due to political rather than religious influences, and under a staple government it is no longer likely to be able to contest the ground with the advance of Christianity. In Southern Nigeria it has scarcely obtained a foothold, but in the Yoruba country it has, on the other hand, certainly gained ground within the last thirty years. This the author attributes simply to the military superiority of the Mohammedans, who, in the constant inter-tribal warfare

being better armed and more intelligent than the natives, are able to advance at their expense. Mr. Robinson, in professing his anxiety to give the Mussulman creed full credit for all the good it has done in the past, continues as follows: "It has in some districts abolished many cruel, inhuman customs; it has given to some pagan tribes a civilisation which they would not easily have gained by any other means; it has given to all who have accepted its teaching a conception of God immeasurably higher than any to which heathenism—least of all the heathenism of Africa—could ever have attained. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the progress which Mohammedanism is undoubtedly capable of promoting when it comes in contact with pagan tribes of a debased character, is progress of an *impasse*. Judging by the history of the peoples who have embraced Islam in the past, its spread in Africa amongst heathen tribes would end by placing insuperable obstacles in the very path of civilisation along which it had been the first to lead them. Again, to Islam must be attributed nearly the whole responsibility for the great open sore of Africa—slave raiding. There is reason to believe that slave raiding was first developed on any large and extensive scale in the Western and Central Soudan as the result of the expedition sent by the Mohammedan Sultan of Morocco at the end of the sixteenth century. It is certain that ever since all the worst slave raiders have been Mohammedans. Once more Mohammedanism has completely failed—as far, at any rate, as West Africa is concerned—in enforcing the teaching of its prophet in regard to abstention from intoxicating drink. In the hinterland of several of the West African colonies outside Nigeria, where opportunities for drunkenness exist, the Mohammedans, as Captain Binger has shown, are frequently the most drunken of all." This seems a fair and unbiassed statement of the much vaunted value of Islam as a regenerating influence in Africa.

L'Ange et le Prêtre. Par Mgr. CHARDON, Prélat de la Maison de Sa Sainteté, Vicaire général de Clermont. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

MGR. CHARDON describes in this treatise the exalted and intimate relations that exist between the priest and his guardian angel. There subsists between both a sympathy of feeling, of action, and of desire, as the salvation of souls is

the chief point to which their united energies are directed. The guardian spirit sees the soul under his charge invested with the attributes and prerogatives of the sacerdotal character, and reverence for these adds to his anxiety for his client's faithful discharge of every duty, besides the saving of his own soul finally. Hence so many inspirations, suggestions, and practical aid on the part of the heavenly guardian, and so many successful issues on that of the ecclesiastic possessed of the spirit of his state. Angels and priests are, each in his own way, the great executive of God in the work of saving souls. And both are the masterpiece of His mercy. Every page breathes the wondrous love of God for souls that wear His own image, and this idea strengthens on to the end of the work. The author brings us into the active presence of the priest and his tutelary spirit in every incident of duty, in every vicissitude and joy of the chequered career of clerical life, and detains us for the final glimpse beyond the tomb. Pleasing, instructive, and exceedingly practical, it is a book that priests will read more than once. No ecclesiastic will regret his having procured a copy, because he will learn, perhaps more than heretofore, the price and emphasis laid by God and His bright spirit on the value of the human soul and the terrible responsibility of his stewardship.

JN. M.

Les Enfants de Nazareth. Par l'Abbé E. LE CAMUS.
Paris et Bruxelles : A. Vromant & Cie. 1900.

THE Abbé Le Camus has fittingly called his exquisite volume by the secondary title of "The Past in the Light of To-day." By reproducing in a series of vivid pen and camera pictures the actual incidents of childish existence in Nazareth at the present day, he calls up for us the scenes and surroundings amid which thirty years of the Divine Life were passed in lowly obscurity in that hamlet among the Syrian hills. Nay, more, the author has shown in a striking series of parallels, that among childish games, as they are still played in Nazareth, may be traced some of the illustrations and figures of the parables of our Lord. The antiquity of these contemporary games is proved by references to them in narratives of the "Divine Infancy," which, though apocryphal, date from a very early period of Christianity. Among them is the little drama of Youbanieh, in which the good shepherd, the master of the

[No. 35 of *Fourth Series*.]

17

flock, drives away the hireling who has neglected it, and addresses his sheep, promising to lead them to pasture, to seek the wanderers, and to kill the wolf coming to attack it. His reproaches to his servant for allowing the wolf to devour his flock, and for general neglect of his duties, are full of suggestion of the language and ideas of the Gospel.

The passage in St. Matthew, xi. 16, in which the Jews are compared to children sitting in the market-place and complaining of their companions, "We have piped to you and you have not danced, we have lamented, and you have not mourned," is recalled by the division of the street games of the children at the present day into two categories, sad and gay. Funerals and marriages form the staple of the repertory, and these are represented with lively dramatic effects of dialogue and music.

Earlier stages of childhood are shown in the pictures of women with their infants, and in the lullabys of the Nazarene mothers who still claim kindred with Our Lady. An interesting description is also given of the ordinary type of dwelling-house, always distinct from the shop or work-room. The ground floor is occupied by the general living-room, dark, and furnished only with some presses, mats and cushions supplying the place of bedding. The flat roof forms a terrace on which a room is generally built, used for guests or extra members of the family. The "large upper room" of the Last Supper is supposed to have been one of these roof or terrace apartments, called *bala Khana* in Persian.

Chronicles of "The Little Sisters." By MARY E. MANNIX.
The *Ave Maria*. Nôtre Dame, Indiana.

IT was an original idea to take one of the homes of the Little Sisters of the Poor as the central point of a series of tales, and allow the inmates to tell in their own simple fashion the story of their former lives. But to weave out of such unpretending materials a volume capable of attracting and interesting the reader, literary skill of no mean order was required. Miss Mannix's success proves her a born storyteller, one endowed with that incommunicable gift which casts the glamour of art over the common-place, and reveals the hidden romance of the most everyday existence. Many strange and tragical episodes, many sad and mournful experiences, are those which she unrolls before us as the previous drama of lives now merged in the stagnant quiescence of a stirless haven.

There is true pathos in the way in which long-past sorrows are given voice again and revived in the memory of the narrators. Such is the tale entitled "A Life-long Sorrow," that of a widowed mother whose only child has been stolen or lost, leaving her more desolate than if he had died in her arms.

It was in April (she says). I had made him a pretty little velvet suit. He looked so pretty. I kissed him a dozen times. We were going to the Park. It was Sunday. I washed the dishes from our little dinner, and went to make ready.

"Mamma," he asked, "may I sit on the door-step downstairs till you come?"

"You will not run away?" I said.

"No, mamma, where should I run to?" he answered sweetly.

"Go then," said I, "I will hurry."

I kissed him and he went down. In ten minutes I was ready. Other families lived in the house. The door was open. I called him: he was not there. Never, madam, from that moment have I seen his face or heard anything of him.

No trace was ever found of the child, nor any light cast on the mystery of his disappearance. The mother prayed to die, prayed to lose her reason that she might not remember, but no forgetfulness ever came. Then she blasphemed Providence, abandoned the practice of religion, and was months without entering a church.

Once at Easter time (she goes on), when I had not been at Mass all Lent, I dreamed I saw my boy again; but in his little white night-gown. He put his hand in mine and said, "Mother, mother, be happy." I awoke and was consoled. From that day I felt him to be in Heaven; and if I force myself to think otherwise, the peace will still come back to me.

As the days go by, and I suffer more in my body, knowing that it is near the end, I seem to come close to him once more. At first I never dreamed of him; though all day long I thought of nothing else, and walked the streets in search of him far into the sleepless night. But now, I long for the hours when I may dream, always of him. In my arms a little baby, I am singing him to sleep; his hand in mine as we walk together through the fields; by my side, in the darkness, as I play the piano; his arms around me in our sleep; at my knees, saying his little prayers—so do I see him always. In the day I remember my dreams, and so I am happy and resigned.

This is truly felt and realised, affecting the reader like a transcript from actual life. There is no theatrical exaggeration, no deliberate attempt to harrow the feelings; but the direct record of successive phases of mental suffering, stripped of all conventional artifice, produces a far higher effect. We have selected this tale only as a specimen of the twenty-five contained in the volume, ranging over a large variety of character and subject. The home which furnishes the material for the chronicle is in one of the large cities of the United States, and contains a mixture of most of the nationalities of Europe.

Die heiligen Sacramente der Katholischen Kirche. Für die Seelsorger dogmatisch dargestellt von Dr. NIKOLAUS GIHR, Päpstl. Geheimkämmerer, Subregens am erzbischöflichen Priesterseminar zu Peter. Zweiter Band. Die Busse, die letzte Oelung, das Weihesacrament und das Ehesacrament. Freiburg: Herder. 1899.

THIS second and concluding volume of Dr. Gihl's treatise on the Sacraments is in every way worthy of its predecessor, which has already been noticed in these columns, and forms a substantial addition to the new series of the Freiburg Theological Library. In the larger space allowed by these two goodly volumes the author is able to treat the theology of the Sacraments in a more satisfactory fashion than is possible in the pages of a compendium. Were it only for this reason, the work should be welcome to priests and students who have no time or opportunity for consulting the voluminous writings of the Schoolmen, but wish for something deeper than the ordinary manuals of theology. But, as we have seen in the case of his earlier volume, Dr. Gihl does not confine himself to the dogmatic treatment announced on his title-page, but gives careful attention to the liturgical rites of the Sacraments, and touches on questions of pastoral theology. In this he is following in the steps of the great mediæval scholastics, whose writings are continually cited in his pages. In some respects this second volume is even more welcome than its companion, for if it does not deal with the most important of the Sacraments, it is occupied with those which are most apt to receive too scanty attention in a course of dogmatic theology.

In a work of this nature questions of domestic controversy require a very careful handling. The author will generally adopt one view himself, and being occupied with other and more important matter, he has but little space to spare for the opposite opinion. This may easily give the reader a false impression as to the state of the controversy, even when the language actually used is fair and accurate. Unfortunately, Dr. Gihl's treatment of the Scotist doctrine on the Sacrament of Penance is open to graver objection, for he calmly tells us that, "at least, after the Council of Trent," this view can no longer claim any true and solid probability! (kann wenigstens seit dem Tridentinischen Concil auf wahre und solide Probabilität keinen Anspruch mehr machen, p. 44). In common fairness to the Scotists we must enter a protest against this language. We cannot stay to

discuss the question on its merits; we merely insist that it is still open, and the situation is in no way changed by the Tridentine definitions. If the opponents of Scotism build arguments on the language of the Council, an eminent post-Tridentine Scotist like Henno can boldly appeal to the same authority in defence of his master's opinion. But the best answer to Dr. Gihl may be found in the words of Cardinal Pallavicino: "Non chiamò esso (il Concilio) quegli atti *materia*, mà, *quasi materia* del Sacramento, e così venne più tosto à canfermar la sentenza di Scoto." And elsewhere he says: "E noi gia vedemmo, che il Concilio procedette in cio con molto rispetto verso l'opinione di Scoto" ("Istoria del Concilio di Trento," lib. XI., c. 12, n. 1).

As an instance of the way in which our author avails himself of the most recent decisions, it may be of interest to note that Pope Leo's Constitution on Anglican Orders is cited as an authority on the subject of Ordination.

W. H. K.

Les Missions Anglicanes. Par le P. RAGEY, Mariste. Ouvrage précédé d'une Lettre-Préface de Mgr. DE ROY, Evêque titulaire d'Alinda, Supérieur-Général de la Congregation du Saint-Esprit et du Saint-Cœur de Marie. Paris: Bloud et Barral. 1900.

PÈRE RAGEY has followed up his work on "l'Anglo-Catholicisme" with the present volume, which in point of interest, accuracy, grasp of subject, with the intricate and complex questions arising therefrom, is, in every way, equal to its predecessor; and this is saying a great deal.

In a letter from Cardinal Vaughan to Père Ragey, written on the appearance of his former work, His Eminence tells the author that he is rendering a great service to religion in England by the various works he has published in France; that he is enrolling the charity of a great Catholic nation towards the obtaining of the conversion of England.

We venture to think that Père Ragey will, by the publication of "Les Missions Anglicanes," effect even more than this enrolling of charity towards the conversion of England. His work should have a much wider and far reaching effect. Very pathetically and modestly he explains the object he had in view in compiling this most valuable and wonderfully accurate review and appreciation of English non-Catholic Foreign

Missionary Societies, as being intended for the Catholics of France.

"Those Catholics who only trouble themselves with what goes on around them in their own parishes, their own dioceses, or, may be, in the whole of France, but who are barely conscious of the fact that there exists a British Empire and Anglican Missions; and who take little or no trouble to find out. . . . Above all do we write for our own valiant and devoted missionaries of France. We hope this book may find its way into the hands of each one of them. If they read it, it will not fail to further stimulate their zeal and energy, even now so great and admirable. In any case it will enkindle in their apostolic souls—and this is what we desire above all things—the zeal of praying, that of obtaining prayers for the conversion of a race strayed from light and truth, which devotes its intelligence, activity, and wealth to the service of heresy and to leading thither a multitude of souls; a race which, if but brought into the true fold, would bring with it a large portion of the world."

We sincerely trust that this truly remarkable study of the far-reaching missionary organisations of non-Catholic England may not be limited to France. As units of the Great Empire, we are not slow or slothful in sharing in her triumphs of its conquest and extension. As Catholics, we owe it to Holy Church and to our country to take our part in the civilising and Catholicising of the innumerable hordes of human beings which are constantly swelling the ranks of the Empire's subjects. Great Britain's conquest and annexations may mean civilisation, but it is in a large measure through Catholic France that Catholicity has found and finds an entrance into Her Majesty's new possessions and dependencies.

Père Ragey's heartfelt desire is to stir and stimulate among Frenchmen, clerical and lay, fresh fervour, zeal, and energy in the cause of the pagan and heathen in countries covered by English non-Catholic missionary enterprise. He has touched to the quick the inefficiency and insufficiency of French existing organisations.

Mgr. Le Roy in his spirited preface testifies to both: "All these contestations," writes his Lordship, "in no way detracts from the merits Protestantism has every right to claim for the efforts it is making, not only in England, in the United States, but in Germany, Sweden, Holland, and France, to propagate

through its missionaries what it believes to be the true Christian faith in foreign countries. Let us acknowledge at once that in this respect the work of the Propagation of the Faith is unknown even in many Catholic countries, and that among those who are acquainted with it, the faithful in general, the religious orders, the clergy, the bishops, how few of all these accord to it the place it deserves."

These are words that surely no Catholic of our Empire can afford to ignore, to allow to pass unheeded. Père Raguey points out that the sums raised throughout the Catholic Church are insufficient and inefficient to cover the needs of evangelistic work in the area opened out to her; that the ranks of her missionaries, numerous and devoted as they are, are still inadequate; that the material resources placed in her hands are far too limited to develop and fulfil, upon the scale which all would desire, the mission given to her by God to go "and teach all nations."

Père Raguey earnestly asks his countrymen for their prayers, their alms towards the realisation of these ends—prayers and alms to convert our heathen fellow-subjects; prayers and alms from Catholic France that she may come to the spiritual aid of these poor forgotten, uncared people, we English Catholics are unwilling—or unable—to help.

A. G. O.

Eras of the Christian Church.—The Apostolic Age: its Life, Doctrine, Worship, and Polity. By JAMES VERNON BARTLET, M.A., sometime Scholar of Exeter College and Senior University Greek Testament Prizeman; Lecturer on Church History in Mansfield College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1900.

THIS little book is the author's contribution to a series of similar monographs on the various eras of Church history which is being published by Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, under the editorship of Dr. Fulton. Some two years ago we had occasion to notice another volume of this series, Mr. Van Dyke's "Age of the Renaissance." The reader may, perhaps, be surprised at the comparatively late appearance of the work which is devoted to the earliest era of the Christian Church. But it is explained, in the preface, that this important period was originally allotted to another writer, the late Bishop A. C.

Coxe, of Western New York, whose death naturally caused some delay in the appearance of the volume.

From what we have seen of the series so far we gather that it is designed with the praiseworthy object of popularising the results of recent research in the field of Church history. It is evidently the desire of the editor and his fellow-labourers in the enterprise to treat the subject in hand, not as partisans or controversialists, but in the impartial spirit of scientific historians. At the same time, the most fair and candid writer must be more or less under the influence of his own early training and traditional belief, and, possibly, some unconscious prejudices. And many questions in Church history are practically inseparable from questions of doctrine. Hence, a Catholic critic can hardly find himself in complete agreement with a Protestant historian. This is particularly the case in the era treated in the book before us. It is quite possible for a writer who has no belief in the ecclesiastical system of the mediæval or Renaissance Church to form much the same view of the facts as one of our own historians. He may recognise in the Churchmen of that day the same doctrines and practices which he sees and rejects in modern Catholics. And the same is true in a measure of the Patristic period. But it is otherwise with the age of the Apostles. Here two Christian writers cannot well agree in their reading of the facts, without at the same time agreeing in doctrine.

The theological standpoint of our author is sufficiently indicated by the office he holds in the headquarters of cultured Nonconformity. And the Catholic reader will naturally expect to meet with much that is in striking contrast with his own conception of the age of the Apostles. At the same time, there is happily a region of pure history which is common ground; even in this early period, where the evidence is necessarily scanty, and the facts are more likely to be coloured by the writer's own opinions. Much has been done of late years to throw light on obscure facts in the age of the Apostles, and the results of all this labour are brought together in the present volume. In spite of the author's Protestantism and his bold views on many questions of criticism, the Catholic reader will find much in this little book that may help him in the study of the New Testament or the Apostolic Fathers. Those who are only accustomed to Catholic works, or the writings of old-fashioned Protestant divines, will no doubt be startled by some

of the views set forth in this volume. But readers who have some acquaintance with the theories of German critics of the early nineteenth century, will be more inclined to hail the book as a hopeful sign of the conservative and constructive character of more recent criticism. For much is here shown as established fact which the rationalists of yesterday rejected as a fable.

W. H. K.

Reviews in Brief.

Evolution. By FRANK B. JEVONS, M.A., D.Litt. Methuen & Co., 36, Essex Street, W.C., London. 1900. Pp.301.

THE purpose of this book, so far as we can discover it, seems to be to prove the compatability of an acceptance of the theory of evolution with religion and morality. The book is original, stimulating, such as only a man of culture and reflection could produce ; but wanting, as it seems to us, in clearness and precision. W. G.

Seven Jewels from Our Saviour's Lips. By Rev. JOSEPH O'REILLY.

FATHER REILLY in this bijou volume has supplied the Catholic faithful with a simple and, at the same time, a full exposition of the seven petitions of the "Our Father." To those who carefully read the book that most perfect of prayers will become a fruitful source of pious meditations, and its recital will not easily degenerate into mere routine, and lip-service of Him to whom it is directly addressed. The book is neatly and tastefully bound. It is published by Washbourne, Paternoster Row, London.

Jack Hildreth on the Nile. Adapted from the original of C. MAY. By MARION AMES TAGGART. Benziger Brothers, New York. 1900.

WE have not read the original of which this is an adaptation, but the story as presented to us is one that is sure to find favour with boys. Jack Hildreth is a hero after their own hearts, and his adventures in Egypt and the Soudan are such as to speedily waken their interest, and to sustain it until the closing of the volume. In the limited space at our disposal it is impossible to follow Jack in the hundred and one scrapes, escapades, and exciting encounters and captures he undergoes. He comes through them safely and soundly, covered with not a few wounds, but with glory galore.

A. G. O.

A l'Ecole de Jésus. F. DE LAMENNAIS. Nouvelle Edition.
Paris : Téqui. 1900. 1fr.

L'Eucharistie. BOSSUET. Nouvelle Edition. Paris : Téqui.
1900. 1fr.

THESE two neatly-bound and well-printed volumes, though equal in price are unequal in value. The "Eucharistie" is taken from Bossuet's sublime and immortal meditations on the Gospels. It contains the pith of all that the eloquent Bishop of Meaux has written on the adorable Sacrament of the Altar. We do not know of a more suitable *vade-mecum* for Holy Mass and visits to the Blessed Sacrament.

The other book, composed by the famous author of the "Essay on Indifference," possesses, it is true, many excellent qualities and suggests many holy and practical thoughts, but it is spoilt by the form in which it is cast. The dialogue between Our Lord and His scholar is impossible, simply because no child would ever use the language which de Lamennais puts into the mouth of this little pupil at the school of Jesus.

G. H.

The "Our Father." A Booklet for Young and Old. From the German of Rev. F. WETZEL. Freiburg : Herder.

MANY rich thoughts and lucid explanations of parts of the Pater Noster are to be met with in these pages. A catechist would turn the contents of this book to advantage, but there is a want of finish about this English version, especially in the rendering of poetical extracts that mars the pleasure of the reader.

G. H.

Jesus the Redeemer. Meditations for every Day in Lent. By l'Abbé MAX CARON, Superior of the "Petit Séminaire" of Versailles. Translated from the French by C. WHELLER. London and Leamington : Art Company.

THOUGH written in view of the Lenten season, these Meditations will be found useful at other times of the year, especially by those who, "knowing not how to meditate on high and heavenly things," take the advice of the great master of the Spiritual life, à Kempis, and "rest in the passion of Christ." At the head of each Meditation the author has set the Gospel for the corresponding day in Lent, so that the living

Word of God, like a two-edged sword, pierces the soul and prepares it for those pious and effectual reflections which mental prayer is wont to incite. Printers and publishers have done their work well.

G. H.

The Catholic Mother. A Manual of Instructions and Devotions for the use of Catholic Mothers. By the Right Rev. Dr. AUGUSTINE EGGER, Bishop of St. Gall. New York: Benziger. 1899.

THIS book is intended as a companion volume to "The Catholic Father," which appeared a year or two ago. Divided into three parts, Dr. Egger's work treats of self-knowledge and self-training, proceeds to deal with the duties of the Catholic mother, and concludes with devotions suitable to parents. The bishop's counsels are as opportune as his views on this weighty subject are broad and practical. We rise from the perusal of this book with firmer conviction that Christianity, and only Christianity, enables the heart of woman to attain perfect purity and exalted virtue, the complete satisfaction of a woman's natural desires.

G. H.

Pancho and Panchita. A Tale of the South-West. By MARY E. MANNIX. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1900.

PANCHO and Panchita are brother and sister, two winning charming children, dreaming and playing away childhood's happy days in Mexico, under the care and charge of a dear old black nurse, Serafina. The little mites are orphans, and often prattle about their parents and the good Padre Gregorio, who acts towards them as a very devoted and affectionate guardian. Of course, there is a little something mysterious about their father—an Englishman—and why it came about they were left, apparently, uncared for by his people after his death. But all ends well and pleasantly. Apart from the prettiness of the story, the author has given us some very picturesque bits of local customs and colouring. "Pancho and Panchita" deserve a warm welcome in every Catholic household.

A. G. O.

Jack-o'-Lantern. By MARY T. WAGGAMAN. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1900.

CHILDREN will find a delightful story in "Jack-o'-Lantern," as it tells them much about a little family of very nice boys and girls, particularly little Dickie, who was seriously ill, but who recovers, thanks to the change of scene and air he so unexpectedly obtains at Hatherton Hall. His brave and sturdy brother, Fred, is a boy whose acquaintance they will gladly make, as also many others of which this very bright and really interesting story deals. There are no lack of adventures and expeditions and unlooked-for events.

A. G. O.

A Hostage of War. By MARY G. BONESTED. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1900.

ANOTHER book for boys. Little "Jack" Hollingsworth, son of Colonel Hollingsworth, in command of a post near to an Indian reserve in the U.S. of America, is the hero of the tale which is sure to find favour with all boys, as it tells about Indians, their manner of life, besides the telling of numerous adventures gone through by the grown-up people figuring in the story. "Jack" really does become a "hostage," but a hostage for peace. The book will give an English boy a very good insight of life in and around an advanced military post of an Indian reservation.

A. G. O.

Daniel O'Connell : Sa vie, son œuvre. L. NEMOURS GODRÉ. Paris : Victor Lecoffra. 1900.

M. GODRÉ is to be heartily congratulated upon what must have been, notwithstanding the nobleness of the subject, a very anxious and laborious undertaking. The great Liberator's best friends, Ireland's most fervent and impassionate champions, owe M. Godré a debt of gratitude for the manner in which he has not only sketched the life of Ireland's nineteenth century hero, but also for the way in which the author has presented to his readers something more than an outline of the history of the country from the times of the Penal Laws down to our own days. The sympathy which France has ever vouchsafed Ireland cannot but gain in force and intensity with the appearance of M. Godré's excellent work.

From an historical point of view, no exception can be taken as to the accuracy of the work. The authorities mainly quoted are sympathetic to Ireland. M. Godré's own reflections and comments are severe, at times savouring of a bitterness which in an historian might advantageously be dispensed with; the more so as he makes very free use of quotations from writers who have given full vent to similar sentiments.

M. Godré's literary power is great, his style charming and captivating and chivalrous. We are not surprised that this volume has been crowned by the French Academy. It is an honour well deserved.

A. G. O.

Books Received.

- La Duchesse de Berry : S.A.R. Madame, 1798-1870.**
By H. Thirria. Paris : Th. J. Plange. 8vo, pp. 455.
- Julian von Speier. 1285.** By Dr. J. E. Weis. Munich :
J. J. Lentner. 8vo, pp. 154.
- Souvenirs des Guerres d'Allemagne pendant la Révolution et l'Empire.** Par Le Baron de Comeau. Paris :
Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 8vo, pp. 598.
- Julien l'Apostat.** Tome premier. Par Paul Allard. Paris :
V. Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. 502.
- The Ober-Ammergau Passion Play.** By Mary F. Drew.
London : Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 132.
- Heyschii Hierosolymitani interpretatio Isaiæ Prophetæ.**
By Dr. Michael Faulhaber. Freiburg-im-Breisgau : B.
Herder. 8vo, pp. 216.
- Saint-Gildas de Ruis.** By Marius Sepet. Paris : P. Téqui.
8vo, pp. 416.
- The Knights of the Cross.** By Henri Sienkiewicz. London :
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